Central Conference of American Rabbis

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1917

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

JUNE TWENTY-EIGHTH TO JULY FOURTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

VOLUME XXVII

EDITED BY RABBI ISAAC E. MARCUSON

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

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1916-1917

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Meyer, Martin A.
Wise, Jonah B.

Church and State

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Kornfeld, Joseph S. — Rauch, Joseph

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Illinois—Hirsch, Emil G.
Indiana—Feuerlicht, Morris M.
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Louisiana—Jacobson, Moses P.
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Missouri—Harrison, Leon
Montana—Levin, J. K.
Nebraska—Singer, Jacob
New Jersey—Foster, Solomon
New Mexico—Landau, J. H.
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North Carolina—Meyerberg, J. L.
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Oklahoma—Blatt, Joseph
Oregon—Wise, Jonah B.
Pennsylvania—Krauskopf, Joseph
Rhode Island—Stern, Nathan
South Carolina—Klein, David
Tennessee—Fineshriber, Wm. H.
Texas—Barnstein, Henry
Virginia—Calisch, Edward N.
Washington—Koch, Samuel
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Wisconsin—Levi, Charles S.
Canada—Gordon, Nathan

Civil and Religious Marriage Laws—Special Commission

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Freehof, Solomon B.
Kohler, Kaufman
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Levy, Felix A.
Rappaport, Julius
Schulman, Samuel
Silver, Abba Hillel
Stolz, Joseph

Contemporaneous History

Deutsch, Gotthard, *Chairman*
Freund, Charles J.
Heller, James G.
Lewinthal, Isidore
Lovitch, Meyer
Reichler, Max
Rubenstein, Charles A.
Schwarz, Jacob D.

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Freehof, Sol B.

Co-operation with National Organizations

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Kohler, Kaufman
Krauskopf, Joseph
Lefkowitz, David
Philipson, David
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Stolz, Joseph

Descriptive Catalog

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Simon, Abram, Educational Philosophy
Zepin, George, Text Books
Hirschberg, Abram, Juvenile Literature
Landman, Isaac, Jewish History
Levi, Gerson B., Jewish Religion
Mayer, Eli, Jewish Literature
Cronbach, Abraham
Egelson, Louis I.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levy, David

Levinger, Lee J.
Lovitch, Meyer
Mannheimer, Eugene
Mazure, Maurice M.
Mielziner, Jacob
Miller, Julian H.
Ranson, Marius
Rauch, Joseph
Reichler, Max
Rosenbaum, David
Silver, A. H.
Solomon, George
Tedesche, Sidney S.

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Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Newfield, Morris
Simon, Abram

Investments

Simon, Abram, *Chairman*
Franklin, Leo M.
Grossman, Louis
Merritt, Max J.

Jews of Other Lands—Special Commission

Grossman, Louis, *Chairman*
Cohen, Henry—South America
Deinard, Samuel N.—Russia
Deutsch, Gotthard—Levante
Eichler, M. M.—Italy
Fichman, David—Roumania
Gordon, Nathan—Canada
Harris, Maurice H.—France
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.—Galacia
Lyons, Alexander—Norway, Sweden and Denmark
Magnes, Judah L.—Palestine
Mattuck, Israel I.—England
Mazure, Maurice M.—Russia
Meyer, Martin A.—Hawaii, China and Japan
Krass, Nathan—Germany
Raisin, Jacob S.—Russia
Rubenstein, Charles A.—Spain and its Possessions
Schwartz, Samuel—Cuba
Silber, Mendel—Austria-Hungary
Zielonka, Martin—Mexico

Publications

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Cohen, Simon R.
Englander, Henry
Foster, Solomon
Frisch, Ephraim
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Morgenstern, Julian

Relief Fund

Stolz, Joseph, *Chairman*
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Fineshriber, William H.
Fox, G. George
Newfield, Morris
Schanfarber, Tobias

Religious Education

Berkowitz, Henry, *Chairman*
Alexander, David
Buttenwieser, Moses
Eichler, M. M.
Enelow, Hyman G.
Ettelson, Harry W.
Fichman, David
Grossman, Rudolph
Grossman, Louis
Hirschberg, Abram
Isaacs, Abram S.
Jasin, Joseph
Kohut, George Alexander
Levinger, Lee J.
Levy, J. Leonard
Magnes, Judah L.
Merritt, Max J.
Meyer, Martin A.
Rosenbaum, David
Wolsey, Louis
Zepin, George

Religious Work in Universities

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Levi, Charles S.
Mann, Louis L.
Meyer, Martin A.
Rubenstein, Charles A.

Responsa

Kohler, Kaufman, *Chairman*
Landsberg, Max
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Raisin, Max
Rauch, Joseph
Rappaport, Julius
Reichler, Max
Sale, Samuel
Wolfenstein, Samuel

Revision of Constitution and By-Laws

Marcuson, Isaac E., *Chairman*
Bloom, I. Mortimer
Brill, Abram
Ehrenreich, Bernard C.
Greenburg, William H.
Jacobson, Moses P.
Kory, Sol L.
Marx, David
Pollak, Jacob B.
Rypins, Isaac L.
Silberfeld, Julius
Voorsanger, Elkan C.

Revision of Union Prayer Book

Philipson, David, *Chairman*
Marcuson, Isaac E., *Secretary*

Calisch, Edward N.
Enelow, Hyman G.
Kohler, Kaufman
Morgenstern, Julian
Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Stolz, Joseph

Social and Religious Union

Levi, Charles S., *Chairman*
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Cohen, Montague N. A.
Cohn, Frederick
Ehrenreich, Bernard C.
Friedlander, M.
Frisch, Ephraim
Goldstein, Sidney E.
Greenburg, William H.
Kaplan, J. H.
Kopald, Louis J.
Levinger, Lee J.
Levy, J. Leonard
Marx, David
Mendes, F. DeSola
Rappaport, Julius
Reichler, Max
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Tarshish, Jacob
Tintner, Benjamin A.
Weiss, Harry
Wolf, Horace J.
Witt, Louis

Solicitation of Funds

Merritt, Max J., *Chairman*
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fox, G. George
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Krauskopf, Joseph
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levi, Charles S.
Levy, J. Leonard
Tarshish, Jacob
Wise, Stephen S.

Summer Services

Levy, Felix A., *Chairman*
Bettan, Israel
Brav, Louis
Cohen, Montague N. A.
Egelson, Louis I.
Ehrenreich, Bernard C.
Fichman, David
Frank, Julius
Greenburg, William H.
Guttman, Adolph
Hecht, Sigmund
Leipziger, Emil W.
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mann Louis L.
Mayer, Harry H.
Merfeld, H. A.
Rice, William
Rosenbaum, David
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Silver, Maxwell
Spiegel, Adolph

Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions—Special Commission

Harris, Maurice H., *Chairman*
Abels, Moses J. S.
Baron, Morris
Currick, Max
Friedlander, M.
Hevesh, Joseph
Lefkovits, Maurice
Moses, Isaac S.
Philo, Isador E.
Rhine, A. B.
Sale, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Stolz, Joseph
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Tintner, Benjamin A.
Wise, Jonah B.
Zepin, George

Synagog Music

Stern, Nathan, *Chairman*
Barnstein, Henry
Braun, Frederick E.
Cantor, Hyman B.
Cohen, Simon
Ettelson, Harry W.
Holtzberg, Abraham
Loewenberg, William
Marx, David
Mattuck, Israel I.
Mayer, Eli
Nieto, Jacob
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Sadler, Bernard
Silberfeld, Julius
Simon, Abraham

SYNAGOG AND SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT

(*a*) *Synagog and Industrial Relations*

Wolf, Horace J., *Chairman*
Abels, Moses J.
Brill, Abram
Cohen, Henry
Cronbach, Abraham
Fisher, Henry M.
Friedman, William S.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Goldenstein, Raphael P.
Goldstein, Sidney E.
Kopald, Louis J.
Levy, J. Leonard
Lewis, Harry S.
Mayer, Harry H.
Moses, Alfred G.
Philo, Isador E.
Raisin, Max
Silver, Abba Hillel
Wise, Stephen S.
Witt, Louis

(b) Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents

Bernstein, Louis, *Chairman*
Blum, A.
Currick, Max C.
Elzas, Barnett A.
Feuerlicht, Jacob
Hirschberg, Abram
Hirshberg, Samuel
Kaplan, Israel L.
Latz, Charles B.
Leipziger, Emil W.
Liknaitz, David L.
Lowenstein, Solomon C.
Mazure, Maurice M.
Peiser, Simon
Raisin, Jacob S.
Rypins, Isaac L.
Salzman, Marcus
Yudelson, Albert B.
Volmer, Leon

(c) Social Justice—Special Commission

Frisch, Ephraim, *Chairman*
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Franklin, Harvey B.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Gorfinkle, Joseph
Isaacs, Abram S.
Levy, J. Leonard
Messing, Mayer
Ranson, Marius
Rypins, Isaac L.
Schulman, Samuel
Silber, Mendel
Wise, Stephen S.
Wolf, Horace J.

Systematic Jewish Theology

Schulman, Samuel, *Chairman*
Fineshriber, William H.
Kohler, Kaufman
Krauskopf, Joseph
Lefkovits, Maurice
Philipson, David

Special Committee on Wise Centenary

Krauskopf, Joseph, *Chairman*
Grossman, Louis
Kohler, Kaufman
Lewinthal, Isidore
Meyer, Martin A.
Moses, Alfred G.
Philipson, David
Rosenau, William
Rypins, Isaac L.
Schulman, Samuel

Special Committee on Model Constitution for Congregations

Witt, Louis, *Chairman*
Freund, Charles J.
Kopald, Louis J.
Levi, Charles S.
Rauch, Joseph
Simon, Abraham
Stern, Nathan
Weinstein, Aaron L.
Wolsey, Louis

Special Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction

Wolsey, Louis, *Chairman*
Barnstein, Henry
Levy, Clifton Harby
Reinhart, Harold F.
Schanfarber, Tobias
Schulman, Samuel
Stolz, Joseph
Zepin, George

Special Committee on Holiday Observance

Mayer, Eli, *Chairman*
Bergman, Moise
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Cohn, Frederick
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Kaplan, Jacob H.
Levi, Charles S.
Moses, Alfred G.
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Warsaw, Isidor

Special Committee on Christian Missions to Jews

Deutsch, Gotthard, *Chairman*
Friedlander, M.
Grossman, Rudolph
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levi, Harry
Levy, Gerson B.
Magnin, Edgar F.
Mayer, Eli
Mazure, Maurice M.
Nieto, Jacob
Silber, Mendel
Thurman, Samuel

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES OF THE BUFFALO CONVENTION

President's Message

Franklin, Leo M. *Chairman*
Alexander, David
Berkowitz, Henry
Enelow, Hyman G.
Foster, Solomon
Grossman, Louis
Heller, Max
Krauskopf, Joseph
Kopald, Louis J.
Kornfeld, Joseph
Levy, Clifton Harby
Lyons, Alexander
Landman, Isaac
Mayer, Harry H.
Newfield, Morris
Philipson, David
Rubenstein, Charles A.
Salzman, Marcus
Schulman, Samuel
Stolz, Joseph
Silverman, Joseph
Sale, Samuel
Simon, Abram

Resolutions

Levi, Charles S., *Chairman*
Abels, Moses J.
Cohen, Montague N. A.
Calisch, Edward N.
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fineshriber, William
Freund, Charles J.
Grossman, Rudolph
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Harris, Maurice H.
Klein, David
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levy, Felix A.
Leipziger, Emil W.
Levy, David
Lewinthal, Isidore
Marx, David
Mann, Louis L.
Nathan, Marvin
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Schanfarber, Tobias
Silver, Abba Hillel
Stern, Nathan
Wolsey, Louis

Nominations

Morgenstern, Julian, *Chairman*
Cohen, Simon
Ettelson, Harry W.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Guttman, Adolph
Holzberg, Abram
Koch, Samuel
Leipziger, Emil W.
Rypins, Isaac L.
Philo, Isidor E.
Reinhart, Harold F.
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Tarshish, Jacob
Weinstein, Aaron L.
Witt, Louis

Auditing

Marcuson, Isaac E., *Chairman*
Frisch, Ephraim
Lovitch, Meyer
Schwartz, Samuel

Thanks

Wolf, Horace J., *Chairman*
Blau, Joel
Brill, Abram
Haas, Louis
Goldenstein, Raphael P.
Merritt, Max J.
Silver, Maxwell
Ransom, Marius

Press

Rubenstein, Charles J., *Chairman*
Cohen, Montague N. A.
Fox, G. George

PROGRAM

THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 28

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Adolph Guttman.
Reading of Service—Rabbi Simon Cohen.
Greetings—Mr. Herman Wile, President of Temple Beth Zion.
Response—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
President's Message—Rabbi William Rosenau.
Memorial Resolutions:
Rabbi M. S. Levy—Rabbi Louis J. Kopald.
Rabbi Aaron J. Messing—Rabbi Abram Hirschberg.
Rabbi Joseph Friedlander—Rabbi Henry Cohen.
Rabbi Joseph Leonard Levy—Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee.
Benediction—Rabbi Edward N. Calisch.

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 29

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Leonard J. Rothstein.
Roll Call.
Reports:
President—Rabbi William Rosenau.
Recording Secretary—Rabbi Max J. Merritt.
Corresponding Secretary—Rabbi Isaac Landman.
Treasurer—Rabbi Abram Simon.
Finance Committee—Rabbi Isaac Landman.
Solicitation of Funds—Rabbi Max J. Merritt.
Investment Committee—Rabbi Abram Simon.
Relief Fund—Rabbi Joseph Stolz.
Synagog Pension Fund—Rabbi Joseph Stolz.
Publications Committee—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Reports:
Yearbook Editor—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.
Curator of Archives—Rabbi Henry Englander.
Summer Services—Rabbi Felix A. Levy.

Special Committee on Holiday Observance—Rabbi Eli Mayer.
Board of Editors—Rabbi David Philipson.
Descriptive Catalog—Rabbi George Zepin.
Cooperation with National Organizations—Rabbi William Rosenau.

FRIDAY EVENING

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
Reading of Sabbath Service—Rabbi Montague N. A. Cohen.
Conference Lecture:
"Judaism and Life"—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.
Benediction—Rabbi Seymour G. Bottigheimer.

SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber.
Reading of Sabbath Service—Rabbi Abraham Holzberg.
Reading of Torah—Louis Haas.
Conference Sermon:
"Sources of Spirituality"—Rabbi Isaac S. Moses.
Benediction—Rabbi Louis J. Kopald.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

Reading of Selections from the Talmud—"The Ordinances of the Rabbinical Assembly at Usha, in the Second Century of the Common Era" (*Ketuboth* 49b-50a)—Rabbi Jacob Z. Lauterbach.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Harvey B. Franklin.
Reports:
Advisory Board of the Hebrew Union College—Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger.
Responsa—Rabbi Kaufman Kohler.
Tracts—Rabbi Julian Morgenstern.
Synagog Music—Rabbi Nathan Stern.
Systematic Jewish Theology—Rabbi Samuel Schulman.
Revision of Constitution and By-Laws—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.
Arbitration—Rabbi Henry Berkowitz.
Special Committee on Isaac M. Wise Centenary Celebration—Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf.
Revision of Union Prayerbook—Rabbi David Philipson.

SUNDAY EVENING

Paper:

Love, Human and Divine, in Post-Biblical Literature—Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon.

Reports:

Commission on Marriage and Divorce—Rabbi Abram Simon.
Jews of Other Lands—Rabbi Louis Grossman.
Jewish Religious Conditions—Rabbi Nathan Krass.
Special Committee on Christian Missions to Jews—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 2

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Rudolph Grossman.

Reports:

Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents—Rabbi Louis Bernstein.
Contemporaneous History—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Revision of Constitution and By-Laws (continued)—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.

MONDAY AFTERNOON

Paper:

Freedom of the Will in Talmudic Literature—Rabbi Louis L. Mann.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 3

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Isidor E. Philo.

Reports:

Synagog and Industrial Relations—Rabbi Alexander Lyons.
Commission on Social Justice—Rabbi Horace J. Wolf.
Contemporaneous History (continued)—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Model Constitution—Rabbi Louis Witt.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON

Reports:

Religious Work in Universities—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.
President's Message—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.

TUESDAY EVENING

Reports:

Contemporaneous History (concluded)—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
Weekday Religious Instruction—Rabbi Louis Wolsey.
President's Message (continued)—Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 4

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Charles B. Latz.

Reports:

- Special Committee on Rabbinical Summer School Resolution—Rabbi Morris Newfield.
- Model Constitution (continued)—Rabbi Louis Witt.
- Auditing Committee—Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson.
- Special Committee on Holiday Observance Report—Rabbi Seymour G. Bottigheimer.
- Work Among Soldiers in Texas and Mexico—Rabbi Isaac Landman.
- Social and Religious Union—Rabbi Charles S. Levi.
- Church and State—Rabbi David Lefkowitz.
- Press—Rabbi Charles A. Rubenstein.

Paper:

- Practical Problems of the Ministry—Rabbi Samuel Koch.

Centenaries:

- Heinrich Graetz—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
- James K. Gutheim—Rabbi Max Heller.

Reports:

- Thanks—Rabbi Horace J. Wolf.
- Resolutions—Rabbi Charles S. Levi.
- Nominations—Rabbi Julian Morgenstern.
- Election of Officers.
- Closing Prayer and Benediction—Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch.
- Adjournment.

PROCEEDINGS

The Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was opened with divine services at Temple Beth Zion, Buffalo, New York, Thursday evening, June 28, 1917, at 8:15 o'clock.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Adolph Guttman.

The Evening Service for Weekday from the Union Prayerbook was read by Rabbi Simon Cohen. An address of welcome was delivered by Mr. Herman Wile, President of Temple Beth Zion and was responded to by Rabbi Louis Grossman, Vice-President of the Conference.

The Annual Message of the President was read (Appendix A) and, upon motion, was referred to the Committee on President's Message, to be appointed during the convention.

Memorial resolutions in memory of Rabbi M. S. Levy, prepared by Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, were in his absence read by Rabbi Kopald; in memory of Rabbi Aaron J. Messing were read by Rabbi Abram Hirschberg; in memory of Rabbi Joseph Friedlander were read by Rabbi Henry Cohen (Appendix D).

A memorial address in memory of Rabbi J. Leonard Levy was delivered by Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee (Appendix E).

Kaddish was recited by all the members of the Conference in memory of their departed colleagues.

The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Edward N. Calisch.

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 29TH

The convention was called to order in the Temple Center, Friday morning at 10 o'clock, with the President, Rabbi William Rosenau, in the Chair.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Leonard J. Roth-

stein. To the roll-call the following one hundred and thirteen members answered present during the course of the convention:

Abels, Moses J.
Abrams, Samuel Joshua
Alexander, David
Berkowitz, Henry
Bettan, Israel
Blau, Joel
Bloom, I. Mortimer
Bottigheimer, Seymour G.
Brill, Abram
Buttenwieser, Moses
Calisch, Edward N.
Cantor, Hyman B.
Coffee, Rudolph I.
Cohen, Henry
Cohen, Montague N. A.
Cohen, Simon
Cohon, Samuel S.
Deinard, Samuel N.
Deutsch, Gotthard
Enelow, Hyman G.
Englander, Henry
Feuerlicht, Morris M.
Fineshriber, William H.
Foster, Solomon
Fox, G. George
Franklin, Leo M.
Franklin, Harvey B.
Freehof, Solomon B.
Freund, Charles J.
Frisch, Ephraim
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Goldenstein, Raphael P.
Goldstein, Sidney E.
Grossman, Louis
Grossman, Rudolph
Guttman, Adolph
Haas, Louis
Halprin, Julius
Harris, Maurice H.
Heller, Max
Hirschberg, Abram
Holzberg, Abraham
Klein, David
Koch, Samuel
Kopald, Louis J.
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Krauskopf, Joseph
Krohngold, Jacob B.
Landman, Isaac
Latz, Charles B.
Lauterbach, Jacob Z.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Lefkowitz, David
Leibert, J. A.
Leipziger, Emil W.
Levi, Charles S.
Levinger, Lee J.
Levy, Clifton Harby
Levy, David
Levy, Felix A.
Lewinthal, Isidore
Lovitch, Meyer
Lowenstein, Solomon C.
Lyons, Alexander
Magnin, Edgar Fogel
Mann, Louis L.
Mannheimer, Eugene
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Marx, David
Mayer, Harry H.
Mayerberg, Julius H.
Mayerberg, Samuel Spier
Mazure, Maurice M.
Merfeld, Harry A.
Merritt, Max J.
Morgenstern, Julian
Moses, Isaac S.
Nathan, Marvin
Newfield, Morris
Philipson, David
Philo, Isador E.
Pollak, Jacob B.
Ranson, Marius
Rice, William

Richmond, Harry R.
Rosenau, William
Rosenberg, Adolph
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Rubenstein, Charles A.
Rypins, Isaac L.
Salzman, Marcus
Sarasohn, I. J.
Schanfarber, Tobias
Schulman, Samuel
Schwartz, Samuel
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Silver, Abba Hillel
Silver, Maxwell
Silverman, Joseph
Simon, Abram
Singer, Jacob
Stern, Nathan
Stern, Richard M.
Stolz, Joseph
Tarshish, Jacob
Tedesche, Sidney S.
Thurman, Samuel
Weinstein, Aaron L.
Wise, Stephen S.
Witt, Louis
Wolf, Horace J.
Wolsey, Louis
Zepin, George
Zielonka, Martin

Greetings and congratulations were read from Rabbis Max C. Currick, Julius Frank, Emil G. Hirsch, Abram S. Isaacs, Jacob H. Kaplan, Kaufman Kohler, Harry H. Mayer and Harry Weiss and from Miss Jeanette Miriam Goldberg.

The report of the President, Rabbi William Rosenau, was then read.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: During the year 1916-17 your President's duties in connection with his office were no less numerous than they had been during the first year of his administration.

On July 16, your President, together with Rabbis Berkowitz, Philipson and Schulman, attended the Conference called at the Astor Hotel by the American Jewish Committee. On said occasion your President read a statement giving the history of the Conference's stand on the Conference-Congress agitation. As is well-known, peace was brought about subsequently between the main agitators for a Conference and those for a Congress.

Owing to the agreement at which the aforementioned parties arrived, it was not necessary for the Committee of seven, called into existence by special resolution, "for the purpose of conference with the American Jewish Committee, or the organization to be effected by it, and for purpose of conference with the Executive Committee of the Congress Organization" (See Yearbook, Vol. XXVI, p. 97) to act or even to meet.

When in the early summer, shortly after the meeting of our Conference at Wildwood, the United States soldiers were mobilized at the Mexican frontier, your President endeavored to find out what was being done for the benefit of Jewish men doing military service. No definite information could be obtained. Hence it was deemed advisable for the Conference to meet the existing emergency as far as it lay within the powers the Conference commanded. It was, of course, hoped and planned that whatever the Conference would do might be co-ordinated with activities of other organizations in the same direction.

On July 20, a letter was addressed by your President to the Secretary of War, Hon. Newton D. Baker, of Washington, D. C., reading as follows:

Baltimore, July 20, 1916

Hon. Newton D. Baker,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Many Jewish men are serving both in the regular army and the National Guard at the Mexican border. They will welcome the offices of Jewish chaplains, especially during the solemn holydays in September and October. As President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, I shall be glad to be informed by you whether I may invite the co-operation of the Jewish ministry, with the view of sending men properly accredited by our Conference, to perform ministerial duty in the Army.

Awaiting your reply, I am, Very truly yours,

William Rosenau,
President, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

After some further correspondence with the Secretary of War and a personal interview between him, Rabbi Landman, our Secretary, and Rabbi Simon, our Treasurer, I received the following letter from the Secrtary of War:

Washington, August 28, 1917

Rabbi William Rosenau,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Rabbi Rosenau:

I returned from Maine this morning and found your letter, but also found Rabbi Landman and gave him a letter of introduction to General Funston, which I hope will straighten out all of his difficulties and give him every opportunity for his work on the border.

Very respectfully,
Newton D. Baker,
Secretary of War.

In order to make possible Rabbi Landman's commission in the name of the Conference to Texas, contributions were asked of a number of gentlemen residing in various parts of the United States, to a fund, especially to be devoted to this new work. The sum total collected was $2,119.50, for the expenditure of which an accounting will be given by the Treasurer. According to the resolution passed by the Executive Board in October, 1916, it was decided that if there were any deficit in this special fund, this deficit should be made good out of the General Fund of the Conference, inasmuch as the assurance was given that said deficit, if it existed at all, would be very slight.

To effect the holding of proper services at the various camps, it was deemed advisable not to use the Union Prayerbook, but to prepare a special Army Prayerbook. The authorization to prepare said book—a copy of which later reached every member of the Executive Board of the Conference and which was appreciated by every soldier more than words can tell—was obtained by correspondence with the Executive Board of our organization. The book was planned and the material collated by your President and Secretary and printed in Philadelphia. Every copy was properly inscribed to the man to whom it was presented, as a gift from the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

It is needless for me to dwell here upon the valuable services rendered by Rabbi Landman, who was our chaplain at the front. Deserved recognition has already been paid him in the President's Message.

In pursuance of a resolution adopted at our meeting in Wildwood, a letter was again addressed to all our colleagues, asking them to present in one of their holiday sermons to the congregations a picture of the suffering of our brethren in the war zones, and to importune their respective constituents to make generous contributions for the alleviation of the suffering, by means of the funds raised through the Joint Distribution Committee.

At the Executive Board Meeting held in Cincinnati, October 24 and 25, 1916, appointments on Committees and Commissions were made with the ratification of the Board. Since then several changes were necessary, owing to the inability on the part of some of our members to serve because of one reason or another.

Your President wishes to call special attention to the difference between the Commission on Religious Work in Universities, which in 1915-1916 was a Joint Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the now existing Conference Committee on Religious Work in Universities—created in response to the instruction which was given the Executive Board at the Wildwood Conference.

It should be noted, that three new Committees were created by the vote of the Wildwood Conference. They are: Special Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction; Special Committee on Holiday Observance; and Special Committee on Christian Missions to Jews.

Having learned with profound regret that Rabbi Moses J. Gries, one of the most useful members of our Conference and a late President of the same, had resolved to retire from the active ministry, covering twenty-eight years of remarkable achievement, twenty-five of which were spent in Cleveland, Ohio, the Executive Board at its October meeting, held in Cincinnati, unanimously voted to present a Resolution to Rabbi Gries, a copy of which herewith follows:

Resolution of the Executive Committee of the

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

anent the resignation of

RABBI MOSES J. GRIES,

of Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Our beloved friend and colleague, RABBI MOSES J. GRIES, rabbi of the Tifereth Israel Congregation in Cleveland, Ohio, has felt impelled to withdraw from his many public activities, by which he conferred invaluable benefits upon the Jewish community at large and shed new lustre upon the vocation of rabbi in our country; and

WHEREAS, He has severed his connection with all the activities of the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, in which for many years, as a member of its Executive Board and especially as President of the Conference, he distinguished himself by his unselfish devotion to the cause of liberal and progressive American Judaism, of religious education and broad philanthropy, as well as by his rare tact and practical wisdom, his fairness and goodwill to all his colleagues,

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED, That we, his colleagues of the Executive Board, express our profound regret at being henceforth deprived of the valuable aid of his sound wisdom and counsel and of his calm judgment in our deliberations, while at the same time we assure our beloved colleague and friend, RABBI MOSES J. GRIES, of our warm appreciation and admiration of the noble character and the self-sacrificing devotion he displayed during the twenty-seven years of his ministry, and particularly of his single hearted efforts on behalf of the communal welfare of his city, by

which he became a shining example and an inspiration to the younger generation of rabbis in this country;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we voice our hope and prayer, in common with our colleagues and his dear wife and children, that a benign Providence may spare him for many years to come in health and happiness, so as to enable him to carry out his best intentions for the benefit of his family and the good of his community in which he lives, honored and beloved by all who know him.

Dr. K. Kohler, Chairman
Max Heller William Rosenau
David Philipson Samuel Schulman
Isaac Landman

The acknowledgment of the Resolution, addressed to the Executive Board and sent to your President, is deserving to be put on permanent record. It reads:

Cleveland, February, 1917

To the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

Words give but feeble expression to my sincere appreciation of your "Resolution", in form and word so beautiful, and your Tribute of Recognition.

To win the confidence and trust of one's colleagues—to receive recognition of honor from one's fellow-workers is the distinction to be prized.

No life-calling is nobler than that of rabbi. To it, I was guided in early youth and to it, I consecrated the gifts and powers, with which I may have been endowed.

It was my chosen life-work—and to its service it has been a privilege to give myself, with heart and soul and might.

If by my life, I have helped, even in small measure, to maintain the nobler standards and the spiritual ideals of the American rabbinate, and by my labor, to broaden the life of the Temple, to further the cause of Education, to awaken the social conscience, or to win increased respect for Jew and Judaism, then the best years of life, the enthusiasm of youth and the earnestness of manhood, have not been spent in vain.

It has been a happiness to serve the historic cause of Israel and to strive for the fulfillment of its prophetic ideals in and through America.

Though necessity compels me to free myself from the heavy burdens of the active ministry, I hope to be able to continue useful service for Israel's cause.

Be assured that I, my wife and sons will ever treasure your "Resolution" of recognition like the heritage of a "good name."

Sincerely,
Moses J. Gries.

On October 28, your President, together with Rabbi Abram Simon, Treasurer, represented the Conference at the eightieth birthday celebration of the Hon. Simon Wolf and presented to him suitable resolutions drafted and properly signed by a special Committee selected from the Executive Board.

On Wednesday morning, January 17, your President and Rabbi Schulman called on Mr. Jacob H. Schiff at his apartments in the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore. The object of the visit was to present him, in recognition of the seventieth anniversary of his birth, in the name of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, with a specially bound set of Union Prayerbooks and with resolutions expressive of the esteem in which Mr. Schiff is held by every member of the Conference individually and by the organization as a whole. Mr. Schiff was deeply moved by the tribute of the Conference and remarked that he regarded the tokens of the Conference among the most precious gifts of which he was the recipient.

On the same occasion, together with the Jewish Publication Society of America, the Central Conference of American Rabbis presented Mr. Jacob H. Schiff also with a copy of the New Bible, in the making of which the Conference, through its representatives, had taken an active part. The inscription read as follows:

Presented to
Jacob H. Schiff
January 10, 1917,
by the Jewish Publication Society
of America and the Central Conference
of American Rabbis.
"Whoso causeth the Law, the
Prophets and the Writings
to be written for the use
of the people to him apply
the words of the Psalmist:
'Wealth and riches
are in his house;
And his merit en-
dureth forever.'"

Your President allowed his signature to be affixed to several appeals. One is the appeal of the Joint Distribution Committee for

contributions to Jewish War Relief on Rosh Hashanah, 1916; another bespeaking the co-operation of the members of the Conference in the asking of contributions to be made by their respective congregations to Armenian War Sufferers, on October 21, a day set aside by President Wilson for Armenian War Relief; a third is the circular letter of the National Child Labor Committee, asking every member of the Conference to unite with the clergy throughout the country in observing in some way Child Labor Day, either on January 28 or January 29.

Your President represented the Central Conference of American Rabbis and delivered an address on the following occasions:

November 4, 1916, the banquet tendered Rabbi Isaac Landman by Temple Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia, Pa.

January 16, 1917, the banquet tendered the visitors to the twenty-fifth Biennial Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Baltimore, Md.

January 22, 1917, the banquet tendered the translators of the new English Bible, at Hotel Astor, New York City, N. Y.

February 28, 1917, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Congregation Bene Yeshurun, Cincinnati, Ohio, and the fiftieth anniversary of the occupancy of its present temple.

March 6, 1917, the seventh Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, held in Pittsburgh, Pa.

April 1, 1917, the Executive Board meeting of the American Jewish Congress, Temple Emanuel, New York City, N. Y.

April 9, 1917, the conference consisting of two representatives from each of the following organizations: Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Central Conference of American Rabbis; Agudath Rabbonim; United Synagog of America; Union of Orthodox Rabbis; Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations, and Jewish Publication Society, held at the Astor Hotel, New York City, N. Y.

April 15, 1917, a second conference of the above mentioned organizations renamed the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy, Astor Hotel, New York City, N. Y.

April 30, 1917, a meeting for the purpose of drafting an Army and Navy Prayerbook to be issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America under the joint auspices of the United Synagogs of America, Union of Orthodox Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, held at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City, N. Y.

May 16, 1917, a meeting of the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy, held at New York City, N. Y.

May 23, 1917, a meeting of sub-committees of the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy, to make final draft of the Common Prayerbook, held in Philadelphia, Pa.

June 3, 1917, testimonial day tendered Rabbi Moses J. Gries by the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, on his retirement from the pulpit.

The Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was circularized by your President for several purposes and in each case the Executive Board voted on the question presented to it as herewith indicated:

1. The Executive Board authorized that a reprint of the Evening Service for Weekdays be made from the Union Prayerbook, "to be used during the divine service to mark the beginning of the Twenty-Fifth Biennial Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held at Har Sinai Temple, Baltimore, Monday evening, January 15, 1917."

2. The Executive Board voted to engage Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson to edit the Yearbook of the Conference for the year 1917-18, with a compensation for the work not to exceed $250.00 and editorial expenses, corresponding to his agreement with the Conference as editor of the Yearbook for 1916.

3. The Executive Board voted to engage a member of the Conference at a salary of $40.00 to report the proceedings of the Conference to be held at Buffalo, both for the Associated Press and for the Jewish Press.

4. The Executive Board voted to have the Central Conference of American Rabbis contribute the sum of $100.00 to meet the outlay of money involved in the work planned for the holding of an American Jewish Congress.

5. The Executive Board voted that the sum of $100.00 be contributed to help meet the outlay of money involved in the work planned by the American Jewish Congress.

6. The Executive Board voted that the Central Conference of American Rabbis shall not accept representation by four men in the American Jewish Congress on the basis of a tax of $245.00 for each delegate thus representing the Central Conference of American Rabbis; and that if representation be accepted in the American Jewish Congress it should be on other terms. The question of participation in the Congress is, therefore, before your honorable body anew.

7. The Executive Board voted to authorize its President to endorse in the name of the Conference an Army and Navy Prayerbook in which portions dealing with the hope of the Restoration of Palestine, the Temple and the Temple Service shall be printed in such a way as to be differentiated from the rest of the material acceptable to the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in the light of the Union Prayerbook now used by the Conference as its ritual.

The contract with our sales agent, the Bloch Publishing Company of New York, was renewed to be in effect for one year from February 1, 1916, to February 1, 1917.

The contract for the publication of the Yearbook for 1917 was awarded to The C. J. Krehbiel Co., the lowest bidder.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM ROSENAU, *President*

The report was received with thanks and referred to the Committee on President's Message to be appointed during the convention.

The President appointed Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson to act as Assistant Recording Secretary and Rabbi Morris Newfield to act as parliamentarian during the convention.

The President announced the temporary committees of the Conference (p. 14).

The report of the Recording Secretary, Rabbi Max J. Merritt, was read.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Since the last convention, held in Wildwood, N. J., June 30 to July 7, 1916, the Executive Board of the Conference held three meetings; Wildwood, N. J., July 7, 1916; Cincinnati, O., Oct. 24-25, 1916, and Buffalo, N. Y., June 28, 1917, at which the following business was transacted:

The Bloch Publishing Co. contract was renewed on the old terms and their bond was accepted.

Rabbi Samuel Koch of Seattle having tendered his resignation as a member of the Executive Board, Rabbi Schulman was elected by the Board to fill the vacancy. It was ordered that a letter be sent to the members of the Conference notifying them of Rabbi Koch's resignation and Rabbi Schulman's election by the Board.

It was decided that the money of the Conference, available for investment, be invested only in first mortgages, the rate no less than 4½ percent, the mortgages to be guaranteed by a security company and that the property shall represent an appraised value of at least twice the amount of the mortgage. And it was decided that until such conditions be fulfilled, the money available for investment be put into certificates of deposit.

It was ordered that 1,000 copies of the Ministers' Handbook be printed.

Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson was appointed secretary of the Committee for the revision of the Union Prayerbook, compensation for

this secretarial work to be fixed by the committee and recommendation thereof to be made to the president who is given power to act.

Rabbi Marcuson's compensation as editor of the Index was reconsidered and fixed at $150 plus stenographic and secretarial help.

Twenty-five dollars was appropriated to purchase copies of A. M. Luncz's work on the Palestinian Talmud, these copies to be used as prizes for the students of the College.

Dr. Max Landsberg was elected an honorary member of the Conference, but at his own request has been retained on the list of active members.

Rabbi Krauskopf was authorized to write to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, with the information that we shall be glad to accept their invitation to co-operate with the Council in its work of humanity.

It was decided that David Lubin's address be printed in the Yearbook and 100 copies be sent to him.

It was decided to reduce the price of the book of Prayers for Private Devotion in order to stimulate its sale.

The Executive Board resolved to carry out the wish of the Conference and to communicate to the joint commission on the Synagog Pension Fund that it is committeed to this title, "The Synagog Pension Fund."

The election of the Conference Members to the Commission on Tracts, at the 1916 convention, was declared illegal and the President sustained in his refusal to confirm these appointees. It was ordered that the appointees on this commission made by the Executive Board of 1915 stand in place of those made by the convention in 1916.

It was ordered that a special stenographer be engaged to write reports and resolutions at future conventions.

It was also decided that multiform typewritten copies of resolutions be required at future conventions.

Rabbi Landman was requested to make an abstract of the entire correspondence relating to the work among Jewish soldiers on the border, that abstract together with a complete report of special and important documents to be presented to this Conference and to be made subject to the action of this Conference for its disposal.

It was decided that the Conference co-operate with the Union in the work of preparing, editing and distributing tracts, the preparation and editing to be done by the Conference and the distribution to be carried out under the auspices of the Union.

It was decided not to employ an executive clerk.

The plates of Vol. II of the Union Prayerbook were ordered repaired.

It was ordered that 5,000 copies of the Sabbath evening and morning service be printed.

It was ordered that 5,000 copies of the Prayerbook Vol. II be reprinted before Rosh Hashanah.

It was decided to sell Rabbi Mattuck the sheets of the new Union Hymnal which he proposes to introduce into England and at his request, permission was given to add his own supplement, provided that on the title page there appear the statement, "Published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, with the supplement of added hymns and psalms as now in use in the service of the Jewish Religious Union."

It was decided that as far as this Board can control the policy of the future, it shall be the policy of the Conference to avoid granting any special privilege of addition or diminution of matter in the hymnbook to any special congregation and that the members of the Conference be so informed.

Rabbi David Lefkowitz was instructed to proceed with the republication of the revised pamphlet dealing with the Bible and the Public School.

The form of application for membership in the Central Conference was accepted.

The Honorary President of the Conference, Rabbi Kaufman Kohler, was designated chairman and the President and Past Presidents, members of a committee to draw up suitable resolutions on the retirement of Rabbi Gries from the rabbinate.

500 copies of the report on Synagog Music were ordered printed for distribution among organists and members of the Conference.

The following reprints were authorized:

100 copies of the Schechter appreciation by Rabbi Schulman,
250 copies of Rabbi Currick's paper,
250 copies of *Lex Talionis*,
300 copies of the Bergson paper,
500 copies of David Lubin's paper,
250 copies of the Religious Education Day symposium,
500 copies of Rabbi Wolsey's report.

It was decided to omit Religious Education Day at the 1917 Conference.

It was decided that the Central Conference of American Rabbis join the National Federation of Religious Liberals, dues to be $100 per annum.

The following have been admitted to membership in the Conference within the year: Samuel Abrahams, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Benjamin Friedman, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Jacob Haas, Harrisburg, Pa.; Julius Leibert, South Bend, Ind.; Morris Lichtenstein, Amsterdam, N. Y.; Samuel F. Mendelsohn, Huntington, W. Va.; Samuel S.

Mayerberg, Detroit, Mich.; Jacob Meyerowitz, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Marvin Nathan, Philadelphia, Pa.; I. J. Sarasohn, Natchez, Miss.; Maxwell Silver, Lafayette, Ind.

Rabbi M. M. Eichler resigned.

Respectfully submitted,

MAX J. MERRITT, *Recording Secretary*

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Rabbi Isaac Landman, was read.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Corresponding Secretary was a member of the Special Committee that reported negatively, last year, on the engaging of a paid clerk for the Conference. His experience of the past year, during which he had more leisure than usual, has been of such a nature, however, that, at present, he would urge the Conference that it is unfair to burden one of its members with an honorary secretaryship; notwithstanding the fact that every man is ready to do his bit for our association.

There was an unusual amount of correspondence, relating to the work of the Conference in co-operation with other national institutions. There were more than the usual number of matters on which it was necessary for the Executive Board to pass by a mail vote, and once by a telegraphic vote. The labor connected with the preparation for the work of the Conference on the Border and in Mexico consumed a tremendous amount of time.

There passed through the hands of your Corresponding Secretary Tract Fund of the Conference; $2,121.75 collected toward the detracted $2.817.73, transferred to the Tract Commission, closing the Tract Fund of the Conference; $2,121.75 collected toward the defrayal of the expense for the welfare work among the Jewish soldiers on the Border and in Mexico; $60.75 for various refunds and items to be refunded: all of which, totaling $5,000.23, subtracted from the grand total of $14,691.76, leaves a balance of $9,691.53, the outlay of the Conference during the past year. The report of the Finance Committee will indicate how this sum is itemized.

During the past year the Committees of the Conference were appointed by the end of October, which enabled your Executive Board to be in correspondence with the various members of the Conference, regarding the particular work they desired to do during

the year. In this way, practically every appointee to a committee of the Conference was engaged in work that was more or less of his own choosing.

Two Official Bulletins were issued to keep the members of the Conference in touch with the work of the Executive Board and with the individual Standing Committees. Both the tentative and completed programs reached the members of the Conference in due time.

In conclusion, your Secretary desires to express his gratitude to the President and to the Editor of the Yearbook, who most cordially assisted his work and lightened his labors in many instances, and to thank the members of the Conference for the trust with which they honored him.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC LANDMAN, *Corresponding Secretary*

The report was received with thanks and adopted.

The report of the Treasurer, Rabbi Abram Simon, was presented:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: I take pleasure in presenting my annual report as Treasurer of the Conference. Having gained eighteen new members during the fiscal year and lost four by death, our present membership is two hundred and thiry-seven. Excluding the seven who are exempt from dues, one hundred and seventy-three have paid to date, thirty-five owe for one year, nine for two years, six for three years, and one has paid for 1918. Since June 10, 1917, seven have paid for the year.

Consulting the subjoined table, you will notice that, notwithstanding the additional General Expense of at least one thousand dollars more than last year and of the withdrawal of our entire Tract Fund of $2,817.73, the Conference is to be congratulated that it, nevertheless, can add one thousand dollars to its resources.

Somewhat disturbed that we did not receive the $25,000.00 of our New York mortgage upon its maturity in January, your President and Treasurer availed themselves of the valued and gratuitous counsel of Mr. Louis Marshall, who assured us that we were unduly alarmed and would receive the entire sum with interest to date. This money upon the vote of the Investment Committee was invested in Certificates of Deposit bearing four percent interest.

Immediately following the adjournment of the Conference session, the President authorized the opening of a special account for contributions collected by Rabbis Rosenau, Hirsch, Krauskopf and Berkowitz, for work to be conducted among Jewish Soldiers encamped along the Mexican border. I received $2,298.29 and expended by vouchers that entire sum plus $3.02 which should be drawn from the General Fund.

A detailed report of receipts, expenditures and present total resources follows:

Receipts

Cash on hand, June 10, 1916	$ 7,436.42	
Dues	1,055.00	
Relief Fund	1,938.30	
Publication Fund	8,321.36	
Interest	1,744.31	
Chaplain Fund	2,298.29	
Refunds and for Registration	50.60	
	$22,844.28	$22,844.28

Disbursements

General Expenses	$ 3,685.70	
Relief Fund	1,067.16	
Tract Fund	2,817.73	
Publication Account	4,498.78	
Chaplain Account	2,301.31	
Invested	6,000.00	
	$20,369.68	
Cash on hand, June 10, 1917	2,474.60	
	$22,844.28	$22,844.28

STATEMENT OF GENERAL FUND

Receipts

Balance on hand, June 10, 1916	$11,136.35	
One-half Dues	527.50	
Interest	148.12	
Refunds and for Registration	50.60	
	$11,862.57	$11,862.57

Disbursements

General Expenses	$ 3,685.70	$ 3,685.70
Balance on hand, June 10, 1917		$ 8,176.87

STATEMENT OF RELIEF FUND

Receipts

Balance on hand, June 10, 1916	$ 5,482.34	
One-half Dues	527.50	
Interest	1,596.19	
Donations	1,938.30	
	$ 9,544.33	$ 9,544.33

Disbursements

Pension Fund	$ 1,067.16	$ 1,067.16
Balance on hand, June 10, 1917		$ 8,477.17

STATEMENT OF TRACT FUND

Receipts

Balance on hand, June 10, 1916	$ 2,817.73	
Disbursements		$ 2,817.73

STATEMENT OF DUES

Receipts

Dues from Members	$ 1,055.00	$ 1,055.00

Disbursements

Relief Fund	$ 527.50	
General Fund	527.50	
	$ 1,055.00	$ 1,055.00

STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION FUND

Receipts

Publications	$ 8,321.36

Disbursements

Publication Expenses	$ 4,497.78
Balance	$ 3,823.58

STATEMENT OF INTEREST ACCOUNT

Receipts

Interest on Mortgage	$ 1,474.00	
Interest on Certificates of Deposit	160.00	
Interest on Savings Account	110.31	
	$ 1,744.31	$ 1,744.31

Disbursements

Relief Fund	$ 1,596.19	
General Fund	148.12	
	$ 1,744.31	$ 1,744.31

STATEMENT OF CHAPLAIN FUND

Receipts	$ 2,298.29	
Expenditures		$ 2,301.31
Overdraft		$ 3.02

SUMMARY OF FUNDS

Balance on hand, June 10, 1917:		
General Fund	$ 8,176.87	
Publication Fund	3,823.58	
Relief Fund	8,477.17	
	$20,477.62	$20,477.62
Less overdraft in Chaplain Fund		3.02
		$20,474.60

TOTAL RESOURCES, JUNE 10, 1917

Citizens Savings and Trust Co. of Cleveland, O., April 26, 1917, 4%	$15,000.00
Baltimore Trust Co., April 26, 1917, 4%	10,000.00

Security Trust Co. of Detroit, April 6, 1917, 4%	2,500.00
Detroit Trust Co., April 6, 1917, 4%	2,500.00
Union Trust Co. of Maryland, May 18, 1916, 4%	8,000.00
Security Trust Co. of Detroit, Nov. 15, 1916, 4%	2,000.00
Security Trust Co. of Detroit, Nov. 15, 1916, 4%	2,000.00
Liberty Bonds, U. S., June 14, 1917, 3½%	1,000.00
Federal National Bank of Washington (Commercial Account)	760.73
Second National Bank of Washington (Savings Account), 3%	1,713.87
	$45,474.60

Respectfully submitted,
ABRAM SIMON, *Treasurer*

The report was received with thanks and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Finance Committee was presented by the Chairman, Rabbi Landman.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the instructions of the Conference to the Executive Board, your Finance Committee has endeavored to work out an itemized budget during the past year, in order to place the expenditures of the Conference on a more definite basis.

The appropriations, as suggested by your Finance Committee last year, and the sums expended, are here given. It will be seen from these figures that most of the officers have kept approximately within the appropriated sums.

Considering that this is the first time that a budget of this kind has been attempted by the Conference, your Finance Committee recommends that this method be continued until our budget will definitely approximate the income and expenditure.

Your Committee recommends that in order to further complete the budget system the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer carry a distinct and separate account of our Publication business.

Appropriated	*Expended*	*Overdraft*
$6,725.00	$9,691.53	$2,966.53

We submit the following Budget for the ensuing year:

GENERAL EXPENSE:

President's Office	$ 175.00	
Treasurer's Office	75.00	
Recording Secretary's Office	75.00	
Corresponding Secretary's Office	300.00	
Committees	350.00	
Yearbook and Reprints	1,800.00	
Convention	250.00	
Executive Board Meeting	250.00	
Ministers' Hand Book	1,000.00	
General Sundries	300.00	
		$4,575.00
PENSION FUND	$ 1,000.00	
		$1,000.00
PUBLICATIONS FUND		
Publications	$ 4,000.00	
Revision of Union Prayerbook	800.00	
		$4,800.00
		$10,375.00

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS:

Dues	$ 1,000.00	
Publication	9,000.00	
Interest	1,800.00	
	$11,800.00	
To be transferred to Relief Fund	2,150.00	
Total Resources	$ 9,650.00	

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC LANDMAN, *Chairman*
LEO M. FRANKLIN
JOSEPH S. KORNFELD
MORRIS NEWFIELD

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

A message was read from Rabbi Kaufman Kohler, Honorary President of the Conference, thanking the Conference for the

message which had been sent to him expressing the regret of the Conference at his inability to attend the convention.

The report of the Solicitation Committee was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Merritt.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOLICITATION OF FUNDS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Committee on the Solicitation of Funds begs leave to submit the following as its report for the year 1916-1917.

Receipts	$1,938.25
Expenditures	64.16
	$1,874.07

A comparison with the receipts of the year 1915-16, which represented the high water mark in previous collections of this Committee, shows an increase for the present year to the Relief Fund of $320.25. It might have been expected that with the numerous demands made in these abnormal times upon the generous and charitable American-Jewish purse and with the energy of American Jewry concentrated on the herculean task of raising the $10,000,000 War Relief fund, our own appeal this year for the Relief Fund would have suffered materially. Such has not been the case and while we have lost through death subscribers who have been contributing to our fund for years, we have more than made good that loss by new subscribers. In many instances subscriptions have been increased rather than diminished. Additional congregations have added their names to the Roll of Honor, in response to our urgent appeal that they become annual subscribers to the Relief Fund. Indeed the willingness on the part of the individuals and congregations to contribute to the fund and the tenor of letters received that reflect a deep sense of obligation to the rabbinate, are a happy augury of success for the larger, more comprehensive and dignified plan projected by the advocates of the Pension Fund.

Appended is the detailed list of contributions and contributors.

Respectfully submitted,

MAX J. MERRITT, *Chairman*

CONTRIBUTORS TO RELIEF FUND 1916-1917

Alabama

Birmingham—
J. Spiro.....$ 2.50
Benton—
J. J. Cadden..... 5.00
Mobile—
Congregation Shaarai Shamayim 5.00
Selma—
Congregation Mischkan Israel 5.00

Arizona

Tuscon—
Lionel M. Jacobs..... 5.00

Arkansas

Fort Smith—
United Hebrew Congregation 5.00
Helena—
Congregation Bethel..... 2.00
Little Rock—
Congregation Bnai Israel 10.00
Mark M. Kahn..... 5.00

California

Los Angeles—
Congregation Bnai Brith 10.00
San Francisco—
Emanuel Congregation... 10.00
Harris Weinstock..... 5.00
Otto Irving Wise..... 5.00
Sacramento—
Isidore Cohen..... 5.00
San Luis Obispo—
A. Z. Sinsheimer..... 5.00
Stockton—
Congregation Ryhim Ahoovin 15.00
Mrs. N. S. Arndt..... 5.00

Colorado

Denver—
Herman Goldsmith..... 5.00
Dr. Robert Levy..... 5.00

Connecticut

New Haven—
I. M. Ullman..... 5.00
Jacob J. Newman..... 5.00

District of Columbia

Washington—
M. Goldenberg..... 5.00

Florida

Jacksonville—
Congregation Ahavath Chesed 20.00

Georgia

Atlanta—
Hebrew Benevolent Congregation 5.00
M. Kutz..... 5.00

Illinois

Bloomington—
B. D. Eisendrath..... 5.00
Congregation Moses Montefiore 5.00
Oscar Mandel..... 5.00
Chicago—
A. G. Becker..... 5.00
Mrs. Eva Browarsky.... 5.00
Congregation Anshe Mayriv 10.00
Gustav Freund..... 5.00
Elias Greenebaum..... 5.00
Lipman Glick..... 5.00
Hugo Hartman..... 5.00
M. M. Hirsch..... 10.00
Isaiah Temple..... 15.00
Mrs. Emanuel Mandel... 5.00
Toby Rubovitz..... 5.00
Charles Schaffner..... 5.00
Philip Stein..... 5.00
Adolph Stern..... 5.00
Mrs. H. C. Schwab..... 5.00
A. D. Weinthrop..... 5.00
Zion Congregation, West Chicago 10.00
Peoria—
Anshe Emeth..... 25.00
Galesburg—
Jewish Ladies Aid Society 5.00
Chas. Neidlinger..... 5.00

Indiana

Evansville—
Congregation Bnai Israel 10.00
A. Strouse..... 5.00
Fort Wayne—
Congregation Achduth Vesholom 10.00
L. Freiburger..... 5.00
Achduth Vesholom Congregation 10.00
Goshen—
N. Salinger..... 5.00
Gary—
Temple Israel..... 5.00
Indianapolis—
E. J. Efroymson..... 5.00
Henry Kahn..... 5.00
Henry Rauh..... 5.00
Joseph Wineman..... 5.00

Indiana—Continued

Lafayette—
Congregation Achavath Achim 5.00
Julius L. Loeb..... 5.00
Ligonier—
Simon J. Strauss..... 5.00
Kokomo—
J. S. Levy..... 5.00
Mt. Vernon—
Mt. Vernon Temple..... 2.50
Terre Haute—
Temple Israel..... 5.00
Wabash—
Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society..... 5.00

Iowa

Decorah—
Ben Bear..... 5.00
Des Moines—
Mrs. B. Frankel..... 5.00
Davenport—
Bnai Israel Congregation 5.00
Keokuk—
J. B. Weil..... 2.50
Sioux City—
Jewish Ladies Aid Society 5.00
Mt. Sinai Congregation.. 5.00
Davidson Bros..... 5.00
Chas. Wise..... 5.00
Cedar Rapids—
Herman Oransky..... 2.50

Kentucky

Danville—
Pushin Bros..... 5.00
Louisville—
B. Bernheim..... 5.00
Isaac Bernheim..... 50.00
Adath Israel Congregation 25.00
Paducah—
Freedman Keiler & Co... 5.00

Louisiana

Alexandria—
A. E. Simon..... 25.00
New Orleans—
Maurice Stern..... 5.00

Maryland

Baltimore—
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation 25.00
Oheb Shalom Congregation 15.00
Meyer Hollander..... 5.00
William Levy..... 5.00

Massachusetts

Springfield—
H. Isenberg & Co..... 5.00

Michigan

Alma—
M. Pollasky..... 5.00
Bay City—
L. Oppenheim..... 5.00
Frankfort—
Summer Congregation... 13.50
Grand Rapids—
G. A. Wolf..... 2.50
Lansing—
Jos. Gerson..... 5.00
Marcellus—
S. Stern..... 3.00
Saginaw—
Max Heavenrich..... 5.00

Minnesota

Minneapolis—
Isaac Weil..... 5.00

Mississippi

Meridian—
Threefoot Bros..... 5.00
Natchez—
Congregation Bnai Israel 10.00
Vicksburg—
Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association..... 5.00

Missouri

Joplin—
Joplin Sisterhood..... 5.00
Louisiana—
Michael Bros..... 5.00
Jewish Congregation..... 5.00
Kansas City—
Alfred Benjamin..... 5.00
Julius Davidson..... 5.00
Congregation Bnai Jehudah 25.00
St. Louis—
Temple Israel.....100.00
M. Schoenberg..... 5.00

Montana

Chateau—
Julius Hirschberg..... 5.00

Nebraska

Lincoln—
Simon D. Meyer..... 5.00
Morris Freund..... 5.00
Jewish Ladies Aid Society 10.00
Omaha—
Congregation Israel..... 5.00
I. Gluck..... 5.00
Morris Levy..... 5.00

New Jersey

Newark—
- Congregation Bnai Yeshurun 5.00
- Max Hertz..... 5.00
- Louis Plaut..... 5.00
- Abraham Rothschild..... 5.00
- Louis Schlesinger..... 5.00

New Mexico

Las Vegas—
- D. Winternitz..... 5.00

Alburquerque—
- A. Eichwald..... 5.00

New York

New York City—
- Mrs. A. Abraham..... 5.00
- Ben Altenheimer..... 5.00
- Clara Bloomingdale..... 5.00
- Free Synagog..... 5.00
- J. B. Greenhut..... 5.00
- Mrs. L. Kohans..... 5.00
- Ferd Kurzman..... 5.00
- E. Lauterbach..... 5.00
- Emil Levi..... 5.00
- Harriet Loewenstein..... 2.50
- Max Ottinger..... 5.00
- J. H. Schiff through J. P. S..... 3.75
- Isaac Seligman..... 5.00
- Cyrus Sulzberger..... 10.00
- Temple Bethel..... 25.00
- Temple Emanuel.....200.00

Buffalo—
- E. Boasburg..... 5.00

Albany—
- S. W. Rosendale..... 5.00

Gloversville—
- Harry J. Louis..... 5.00

Rochester—
- Congregation Berith Kodesh 5.00
- M. A. Stern..... 5.00

Far Rockaway—
- Temple Israel..... 20.00

North Carolina

Goldsboro—
- Congregation Oheb Sholom 5.00

Greensboro—
- Ceasar Cone..... 5.00

Ohio

Akron—
- A. Polsky..... 5.00
- Akron Hebrew Congregation 5.00

Bellaire—
- Congregation Sons of Israel 5.00

Cincinnati—
- Sam Ach..... 5.00
- Isaac Bloom..... 1.00
- Congregation Bnai Israel 12.50
- J. Walter Freiberg..... 10.00
- Maurice Freiberg..... 10.00
- A. W. Goldsmith..... 5.00

Ohio—Continued

H. Hoenig..... 5.00
H. Jonap & Co..... 5.00
Henry Meis..... 5.00
Pauline Meyer..... 5.00
Chas. E. Shohl..... 5.00
Mrs. Henry Seinsheimer. 5.00
Meyer Silverglade..... 5.00
Newton Trager..... 5.00
Sam. Trost..... 5.00
Eli Winkler..... 5.00
Nathan Weiss..... 2.50

Cleveland—
Euclid Ave. Temple..... 25.00
Julius Feiss..... 5.00
Sigmund Joseph..... 5.00
Aaron Hahn..... 10.00
B. Mahler..... 5.00
Harry New..... 5.00
The Temple..... 5.00

Columbus—
Congregation Bnai Israel 20.00
Fred Larazus..... 5.00

Dayton—
Congregation K. K. B. Y. 25.00
F. J. Ach..... 5.00
Congregation K. K. B. Y. 25.00

Hamilton—
S. Kahn..... 5.00
Ben Strouse..... 5.00

Sandusky—
S. Kaplan..... 5.00

Steubenville—
Frank L. Loeb..... 5.00

Toledo—
Congregation Shomer Emmunim 10.00
M. Lempert..... 5.00
A. S. Cohn..... 5.00

Youngstown—
Congregation Rodef Sholem 10.00
Clarence J. Strouse..... 5.00
Congregation Rodef Sholem 10.00

Oregon

Portland—
Congregation Beth Israel 25.00

Pennsylvania

Allentown—
Chas. Kline..... 5.00

Braddock—
Ladies Aux. I. O. B. B. 5.00

Hazelton—
Beth Israel Congregation 5.00

Lancaster—
Congregation Shaarai Shamaim 5.00

Philadelphia—
Sam Snellenberg..... 5.00
Congregation Rodef Sholom 25.00

Wilkesbarre—
S. J. Strouse..... 5.00

Pittsburg—
W. H. Cohen..... 5.00
Barney Dreyfuss..... 5.00
Maurice Falk..... 5.00
Philip Hamburger..... 5.00
Isaac Kaufman..... 5.00
J. L. Lehman..... 5.00
Marcus Rauh..... 25.00
A. J. Sunstein..... 10.00
A. Leo Weil..... 5.00
Mrs. Ida F. Weil..... 5.00

Rhode Island

Providence—
Mrs. Marion L. Misch... 5.00

South Carolina

Charleston—
Julius M. Visanska..... 5.00
Melvin M. Israel..... 5.00

Manning—
Mrs. M. J. Barnett..... 5.00
Miss C. R. Loryea..... 5.00

Tennessee

Memphis—
Jos. Newburger..... 5.00
Leon Sternburger..... 5.00

Texas

Dallas—
Sanger Bros..... 5.00
E. M. Kahn & Co..... 5.00
Fort Worth—
Sam. Levy..... 10.00
Galveston—
E. Lasker..... 5.00

Houston—
Levy Bros..... 5.00
Hebrew Congregation
Beth Israel..... 25.00
San Antonio—
O. Berman..... 5.00

West Virginia

Huntington—
J. Broh..... 5.00
Richmond—
L. Z. Morris..... 5.00

Philip Whitlock..... 5.00
Wheeling—
M. Sonneborn..... 5.00

Washington

Spokane—
Samuel Galland..... 5.00

Seattle—
Julius C. Lang..... 5.00

Wisconsin

Appleton—
L. J. Marshall..... 5.00
Milwaukee—
Phil Carpeles..... 5.00

Congregation Emanuel... 25.00
Max Landauer..... 5.00
Nat Stone..... 5.00

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Investment Committee was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Simon.

REPORT OF INVESTMENT COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Investments begs leave to report that the Conference has securely invested the sum of $43,000.00 in the following banks:

Citizens' Savings and Trust Company of Cleveland	$15,000.00
Baltimore Trust Company	10,000.00
Security Trust Company of Detroit	2,500.00
Detroit Trust Company	2,500.00
Union Trust Company of Maryland	8,000.00
Security Trust Company of Detroit	4,000.00
Liberty Bond	1,000.00

Upon the receipt of the entire mortgage of twenty-five thousand dollars, your Committee deemed it unwise for several reasons to reinvest the same in property, however seemingly gilt-edge. Nor was it an easy matter to secure Certificates of Deposit paying four percent and nontaxable. The Conference can be assured that its money is safely invested and undisturbed by the fluctuations of the market or of the war. $5,000 was drawn from the Savings Account in April last and was likewise utilized in the purchase of Certificates. The vote of the Executive Board authorized the withdrawal of another thousand dollars to buy a Liberty Bond. In addition to all this, there is at least seventeen hundred dollars left in the Savings Account to meet any unusual demand of the publication expense, in the event the Commercial Account of $760.00 may not be able to meet it.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM SIMON, *Chairman* ISAAC LANDMAN
LEO M. FRANKLIN ALEXANDER LYONS
LOUIS GROSSMAN MAX J. MERRITT

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Committee on Relief Fund was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Stolz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELIEF FUND

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Relief Fund begs leave to report as follows:

During the past fiscal year, the sum of $3,977.76 was credited to the Conference Relief Fund, namely:

One-half membership dues	$ 527.50
Interest	1,596.19
Solicitation	1,874.07
Total	$3,997.76

During the same period $900.00 was dispersed for three pensions, namely $300.00 to the widow of a member, $300.00 to the full orphans of a deceased member and $300.00 to a dependent member and his wife.

Our Relief Fund now amounts to $33,417.17, a net gain of $2,994.83 during the year. This sum, the slow accumulation of years, is safely invested under the guidance of the Investment Committee and with the sanction of the Executive Board, and is in the keeping of our Treasurer. It must not be confounded with the Synagog Pension Fund which is in the possession of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and over which we have no control or power of disbursement.

During the year, three new applications for a pension were received by your Committee, namely, two from non-members, and one from a member who is prevented from following his calling by reason of permanent disability. Upon our unanimous recommendation, the Executive Board at its pre-conference meeting voted the latter a pension of $300.00 for the ensuing year.

An appropriation of $100.00 was made at the October meeting of the Executive Board for the relief of an unfortunate colleague, a victim of war conditions.

It affords us much satisfaction to report again this year that without any urgent solicitation, 52 Congregations and four Sisterhoods and 169 individuals residing in thirty-five different states contributed to our relief fund sums varying from $200.00 to $1.00. The total amount was $1,938.25, an increase over last year of $320.25, and we are grateful to the donors for their recognition of a high duty, and for this demonstration that American Israel is becoming con-

scious of the obligation to provide for the old age and disability of the rabbi and teacher.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman* RUDOLPH I. COFFEE
WILLIAM FINESHRIBER G. GEORGE FOX
MORRIS NEWFIELD TOBIAS SCHANFARBER

The report was received and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Commission on Synagog Pension Fund was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Stolz.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON SYNAGOG PENSION FUND

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your special Commission on Synagog Pension Fund, appointed to act in conjunction with a similar Commission of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, begs leave to report as follows:

I We congratulate the Conference upon the splendid progress made during the year towards the realization of that aim of our organization embodied in Article II of the Constitution which states that one of the objects of the Conference is "to make provision for such worthy colleagues as owing to advanced age or other causes are prevented from following their calling."

II In accordance with the instructions of the last conference, your Commission prepared an elaborate report for the 25th Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, held in the city of Baltimore, January 16-18, 1917. This report, which embodied and elaborated the principles adopted at the Wildwood Conference, was thoroughly discussed by the full joint commission in the presence of the actuary, and with his advice, and was officially presented to the Council on January 17, 1917, as the unanimous report of the joint commission. The report was adopted by the Council without dissent and is printed in the 43d Annual Report of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, pages 8146-8154. We recommend that said report which was reprinted in full in the Union Bulletin of March, 1917, and which was circulated in 30,000 copies be considered an integral part of this report, and be adopted as the wish and opinion of the Conference for the further guidance of this Commission on Synagog Pension Fund.

We would report officially that, approving of the general principle

of the Synagog Pension Fund as outlined in our report to the Wildwood Conference, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, on the occasion of
III his seventieth birthday, sent a check for $100,000.00 to Mr. J. Walter Freiberg, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as his contribution to this fund, and we recommend that this Conference express to Mr. Schiff in some befitting manner its profound appreciation of his reverence for the Jewish Ministry and its sincere admiration for the traditional Jewish method he chose to manifest his gratitude to Divine Providence.

We report that Mr. S. H. Wolfe of New York, a very competent man, has been appointed by the Joint Commission as the consulting Actuary. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has
IV agreed to bear the administrative expenses entailed in carrying on the work of the Synagog Pension Fund. And, therefore, we remitted to the Treasurer of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, for the partial payment of the actuary, Mr. Louis Marshall's check for $250.00 and Mr. Julius Rosenwald's check for $250.00 which had been given to the Chairman of your Commission for that specific purpose.

We report that strenuous efforts had been made by the Department of Synagog and School Extension to gather for the Actuary such complete and accurate statistics as will enable him to make absolutely reliable computations. The questionnaire was sent to
V the professors of four institutions of learning and to all the reform and orthodox rabbis whose names and addresses could be secured. Thus far, three hundred and ninety-nine responses have been received, namely, 202 from members of this Conference, 65 from the alumni of the Jewish Theological Seminary not members of this Conference, and 141 from orthodox rabbis and professors of other affiliations.

Although three and four letters have been sent to delinquents together with a copy of the March Edition of the Union Bulletin containing a full account of the plan and scope of the Pension Fund; although it requires but a few minutes to answer the questionnaire and no financial obligation whatsoever is involved; although it may prove of the utmost consequence to their own future well-being and the well-being of their own families; and although the immediate happiness of worthy colleagues is depending upon their answers, 234 men have not yet sent any reply to the questionnaire, namely, 12 members of the Conference, five of whom are alumni of the Hebrew Union College, 21 graduates of the Jewish Theological Seminary, 13 professors of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Dropsie College, and the Rabbinical College of America and 188 orthodox rabbis.

We recommend that a final appeal, printed in English and in

Yiddish, be sent to those who have not yet answered the questionnaire with the request that an answer be returned not later than October 1, 1917, and that the Question, When did you receive the *semichah?* be changed to How long have you been in the ministry?

It is encouraging and stimulating to report that the Episcopalians who had determined to raise a Church Pension Fund of $5,000,000 by the 1st of March, 1917, actually raised a fund of $7,500,000.

They have set themselves a high goal, and yet they found their
VI people even more eager to give than they had anticipated, probably because they had been assiduously taught in advance what was in justice their duty towards their clergy. We, therefore, recommend that our members refer to this subject from time to time in their public addresses, so that when the day comes for the big appeal, our people will also be found ready to do justice to the teachers in Israel who have grown old and feeble in the service of God and humanity.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman* RUDOLPH I. COFFEE
WILLIAM FINESHRIBER G. GEORGE FOX
MORRIS NEWFIELD TOBIAS SCHANFARBER

The report was received and the recommendations were taken up seriatim.

Recommendations I and II were adopted.

Recommendation III was adopted and the Executive Board was instructed to express to Mr. Schiff the Conference's appreciation of his generosity.

Recommendation IV was adopted.

Recommendation V was adopted as amended.

Recommendation VI was adopted.

The report was adopted as a whole as amended.

The report of the Committee on Publications was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Franklin.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Publications, whose duty it is to supervise the printing and sales of Conference publications, begs leave to report as follows:

The work of your Committee during the year just closed has

been fairly arduous because of the unusual number of publications which it has had to see through the press and because, on account of the ever increasing price of production due to war conditions, it has been necessary to conduct the business of the Conference with the utmost diligence and vigilance. Every contract that was entered into had of necessity to be made conditional upon an advance in cost of materials and labor without notice. It is only fair at the outset to say that although the cost of production has been considerably higher on all of our publications this season, the various publishers with whom we have dealt have been eminently considerate to us and in most instances have divided with us any increase in the cost of labor after contracts had been made. Nonetheless, our printing and binding bills have been larger than in previous years, and unlike purely business concerns we have not been in a position to add this increase to the sales price of our books. Particularly in the case of the Prayerbook would it seem inadvisable to set the price beyond that already established, namely, One Dollar per copy. Nor would it be well to produce a book mechanically inferior to that to which our congregations have become accustomed. In the face of our increased expenses and also of our lessened volume of sales, we are still able to report a gross profit during the past year of $2,758.90, against which should be placed the sum of $190.06 for books distributed *gratis* by the Conference, leaving a net profit for the year of $2,568.04. As a matter of fact, however, included in the expenses of the year is the sum of $792.41 incurred by the Committee on Revision of the Union Prayerbook. This will, of course, come back to us as soon as the new edition is ready for publication, and so actually the net profits for the year are $3,361.25, as against $4,872.11 in the year previous, a reduction in net profits of something over $1,500.00. I call your special attention to this fact as one of prime significance, since practically all of the constructive work undertaken by the Conference is dependent upon the profits accruing from the sales of our publications.

The Ministers' Handbook, which will undoubtedly have reached you by the time this report is presented, can scarcely be expected to repay its cost in many years, and so the great expenditure entailed in its publication should scarcely be charged against our Publications account, but should be regarded in the same class with the Yearbook from which we expect to realize no profit. Of this, however, we shall speak hereafter.

Your Committee begs to call your attention to the various publications of the Conference and to define their status at the present time.

Union Prayerbook, Volume I

Naturally the Union Prayerbook is and must remain the chief asset of the Conference. Its continued popularity is attested by the fact of its introduction into an increasing number of congregations every year. Since our last report ten congregations, situated in every part of the country, have officially adopted the Union Prayerbook as their ritual. There are now 328 Congregations and 23 institutions using the Union Prayerbook. Of Volume I, however, the sales have notably decreased in the last year, the total number of books sold during the period covered by this report being 2,765 as against 3,096 in the year previous and 3,423 in the year before that. This diminution of the sales of Volume I can be easily explained, and must not be regarded as an indication that the book itself is falling into disfavor with the people. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that once a congregation is fairly supplied with prayerbooks, it will have occasion to reorder only in small quantities for such individuals as may from time to time be added to its ranks. In the second place, and what is of even greater weight in forming our conclusions, is the fact that people are anxiously awaiting the appearance of the revised Prayerbook and so are unwilling to purchase the present edition, fearful lest in six months or a year the new edition will have made its appearance and the old one thus become obsolete. In view of this fact, we cannot too strongly urge that this Conference accept the manuscript of I the revised Volume I, to be submitted by the Revision Committee at this Conference, or if it insist that the manuscript shall again go to the members for further changes, that a definite time limit—and that none too long—be set, so that the revised manuscript may be put into the hands of the printer at the earliest possible moment. This action becomes imperative in view of the fact that on the date of this report we have on hand only 854 copies of Volume I in all editions, a number scarcely sufficient to supply our normal demands for the next three months. On the other hand, we strongly advise against a reprint of the present edition, partly for the reasons already cited, that it would be unfair to ask congregations to purchase a book which in the course of a very short time they would have to replace with another, and in part because of the great expense involved in reprinting a new and necessarily small edition, particularly in view of the fact that the plates of this volume are more or less defective and a considerable expenditure would be necessary to put them in anything like good condition. Your Committee is confident that as soon as the new edition of the prayerbook is placed on the market, there will be a very large demand for it, and that in a single season the entire cost of its production will have come back to us. Of course, the co-operation

of every member of the Conference will be required in the introduction of the new volume. Wherever the present edition is in use, it should be supplanted by the new, with the definite hope of making the new edition the prayerbook for all Reform Jewish congregations in America.

Union Prayerbook, Volume II

Volume II of the prayerbook, strangely enough, continues to sell best. During the year we sold 4,198 copies of this book, as against 3,806 in the year previous. A reprint of this volume was made during the year and we have on hand at the present time in bound and sheet stock, approximately 6,500 copies, or a sufficient number to last us over the coming holyday season. Unless the Revision Committee sees its way clear to complete its work on Volume II within the course of the coming season, we shall in the Fall of 1918 be confronted by just such a situation in regard to this volume as now faces us in the case of Volume I.

Union Prayerbook, Combined I and II

Of the combined Volumes I and II printed on India paper and handsomely bound, we sold 31 copies during the year, an increase of 14 over the year previous. We have but a small number of these books on hand, and it is likely that they will be disposed of gradually, especially for gift purposes. It may be said in passing that our members would do well to encourage the giving of this volume as a fitting gift on various occasions.

Sabbath Evening and Morning Services

By order of the Executive Board, we reprinted during the season a new edition of this work, the demand for which though a little under that of last year has been very satisfactory. During the season we disposed of 4,226 of these books. We have on hand approximately 6,000 of these books and it is urged that every effort should be made to dispose of these volumes in lieu of Union Prayerbook, Volume I, which of necessity will be out of print in the interval between the sale of the small stock now on hand and the reprinting of the revised edition. We believe that it would be no hardship for any congregation desiring to introduce the Union Prayerbook as its ritual, to buy these small volumes which retail at 25c, even though in a very short time it would be necessary to replace them with the new and larger work. In this connection, the question arises as to whether, with the revision of Volume I, it

will be advisable to publish again a Sabbath Evening and Morning edition of the Union Prayerbook. Long years of experience have proved to us that the existence of this smaller volume militates very strongly against the sale of the larger Prayerbook. Inasmuch as our publication expenses, as has been previously shown, are constantly increasing, despite the fact that we cannot well add to the sales price of our works, it becomes a serious question as to whether by the re-publication of this book we should ourselves voluntarily reduce the demand for the larger volume. Inasmuch as there may be a considerable saving in the cost of production, if

II the large book and the new book are ordered simultaneously, should it be decided to publish a Sabbath Evening and Morning edition of the revised volume, it is eminently essential that this Conference should empower the incoming Executive Board to decide upon its course of action in the matter.

Week Day Service

All that has been said about the Sabbath Evening and Morning Service applies—though in a minor degree—to the Week Day Service. However, the number of these books that is sold annually ranging from 532 in the year 1914-15 to 344 in the year covered by this report, is so negligible that your Committee feels justified

III in definitely recommending that this book be withdrawn from circulation when the present stock on hand shall have been exhausted. Since this report was prepared, it has been discovered that 1,000 copies of this book, printed in the year 1910, have been lying upon the shelves of one of the binders and never included in the assets of the Conference. With this large stock on hand, a new edition was reprinted in 1913. This indicates most forcefully how necessary it is that the publication work of the Conference should be carried on in a businesslike manner.

Union Haggadah

The sale of the Union Haggadah, though falling considerably short of the sales of last year was, all things considered, satisfactory. We disposed during the season of 1,175 copies of this book and we have on hand about 900 copies, not quite sufficient to meet the probable demand for next Pesach. Your Committee, therefore,

IV recommends that a reprint of from three to five thousand copies of this book be made, with discretionary power given to the incoming Committee on Publications to bind all or only a portion of this number, as may seem best at the time.

Prayers for Private Devotion

Although we sold, during the past year almost twice as many copies of this book as in the two years preceding combined, we still feel that the book is not as widely known nor as generally used as would be justified by the character of the book and its real merits. What increase in its sale there has been, has been essentially due to the fact that some of our colleagues have taken pains to call attention of the existence of this book to their members, and in some few instances congregations have used the book as a fitting gift to their confirmants. There is no doubt that this book ought to find a place in every Jewish home and we believe that it would if the members of this Conference would all take pains to make its existence known to their congregations. We believe that a little special advertising of this book in the Jewish press would greatly facilitate its sale, and we recommend that if our sales agent does not feel justified in expending the amount that would be necessary to push the sale of this book, the Conference itself should, as an experiment, advertise the book in some of our leading Jewish publications. The price of the book is so small and the demand for a volume of this character is so general that your Committee feels convinced that no explanation other than that the people do not know of the existence of such a book, may be given for its comparatively unsatisfactory distribution.

V

The Union Hymnal

Since the publication of the Union Hymnal a little over two years ago, 15,413 copies of the book have been distributed. This is a gratifying record and should encourage us to believe that in giving to the Jewish public a book of this character we supplied a real need to our congregations and communities. Since the book was placed upon the market congregational singing has been more and more generally introduced in our synagogs, and this was the great end that over and above all else the book was intended to serve. During the past year the Hymnal has been introduced into 45 congregations, making a total of 161 congregations in which the book is now in use. With fullest appreciation for the work and the ability of those who produced this book, we cannot be blind to the fact that it has, in the opinion of many rabbis, and of a large portion of the congregations who use the book, some serious defects that ought to be remedied before a new edition is published. We have at the present time a sufficient stock on hand to last us approximately two years, but your Committee believes that the book ought to be revised before a reprint is made, and recommends that a Committee on Revision of the Union Hymnal be appointel at

VI

this Conference. Such committee basing its conclusions upon the experience of the congregations that have introduced this book, should be charged with the duty of recommending certain changes, some eliminations and some additions to the book, which would really make it very much more available and better adapted to the purposes for which it is intended. A noteworthy omission in the book, for instance, is the national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." We believe that the revision ought to be undertaken at once, in order that the revised manuscript may be ready in time for the next printing of the book which should be delayed not more than eighteen months from this time.

Sermons by American Rabbis

During the year we sold twenty copies, paper bound, of Sermons by American Rabbis. We have not many copies of this work on hand, but we feel that they will be sufficient to supply the demand.

Ministers' Handbook

The latest publication of the Conference, just fresh from the press, is the Ministers' Handbook. For 23 years this work has been under consideration by the Conference, power being granted to a committee to formulate an Agenda for a Ministers' Handbook by the Atlantic City Convention of 1894 (Y. B. IV, 95). Several manuscripts have been submitted to the Conference by various committees, only to be rejected one after the other. At the last Conference, however, a manuscript submitted by an Editorial Committee of which Rabbi Rosenau was chairman, was accepted and ordered printed. However, because of the expected appearance of the new Bible translation, it was deemed advisable to make all biblical readings in the Handbook conform to the text of the new translation. This decision, which was, of course, eminently proper, not only delayed the appearance of the book by almost six months, but also added considerably to its cost, since it entailed the re-setting of a large portion of the volume and in addition compelled us to pay an advanced price for labor. An edition of one thousand copies was printed, of which five hundred copies were bound. The work is now in the hands of our members. The sale of these books will of necessity be limited and it is unlikely that we shall be able to reimburse ourselves for the cost of production, much less make any profit on the book. Inasmuch as previous to Rabbi Morgenstern's administration as Chairman of the Publications Committee, no detailed account of expenses incident to individual publications had been kept, it is impossible to compute the various items of expenditure incurred in the production of this book. It is likely, however, that

if such detailed statement were available for the 23 years that
VII have passed since the task was first undertaken, it would be found to be very large. The actual physical production of the book has been comparatively cheaply accomplished, but in view of all the facts of the case, your Committee recommends that the book be sold at One Dollar per copy, with the usual discount of thirty percent to our sales agent. Your Publications Committee wishes to impress upon the members of the Conference that it is in no wise responsible for the contents of the book, but that its sole duty consisted in seeing the work through the press, as it was presented to us by your Editorial Committee. It is the recommendation
VIII of your Committee that in appreciation of his untiring services as chairman of the Editorial Committee, a specially bound copy of the Ministers' Handbook, appropriately inscribed, be presented to Rabbi William Rosenau.

At this point it may be well to call to the attention of the Conference that under instructions of the Executive Board, your Publicatons Committee had bound in de luxe form the first and second volumes of the Union Prayerbook, for presentation to Mr. Jacob H. Schiff on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The books were pronounced by those who saw them a rare example of the bookbinder's art, and were greatly appreciated by Mr. Schiff. The presentation was made by the executive officers of the Conference.

During the year the Conference has distributed books gratis to certain worthy individuals and institutions, or has allowed special discounts to philanthropic institutions amounting to $190.06. We have been as conservative as possible in recommending such distributions as we are convinced that many times applications for free literature are made by those who have no just claim to receive same. This is particularly true as is called to our attention by our sales agent, of requests that come to us constantly for copies of our Yearbook. Many times persons ask for the Yearbook with the sole idea in mind of using our membership directory for commercial purposes. We recommend that in all such instances a charge of $1.50 be made for the Yearbook.

We quote the following paragraph from the report of our sales agent:

"During the past years there has accumulated a number of Prayerbooks in various bindings, which were returned to us from time to time as being defective in one particular or another. We believe it to be worth while to have these books repaired and in some cases rebound. If your Committee will give us authority we will give the matter our personal attention, examine each book and have the defect remedied at the lowest possible cost. It would be profitable for the Conference to have this work done. Such books

which it would not pay to repair or rebind, can be used for presentation to institutions which receive books gratuitously."

IX Your Committee recommends the adoption of the suggestion herein made by the Bloch Publishing Co.

Every now and then there is brought to the notice of your Publications Committee some instance of infringement on the copyright of one or the other of our publications. Such an instance was brought to our notice and successfully adjusted during the course of the past year, when a large eastern congregation had reprinted in leaflet form a number of the hymns in the Union Hymnal for the use of its own members. Such a reprint was clearly an infringement upon our rights. A long correspondence ensued between the congregation and the Chairman of your Publications Committee, as a result of which we are grateful to report that the congregation has withdrawn all of the leaflets from circulation and has promised not to reprint same. The Conference, though pursuing a liberal policy in matters of this kind, cannot be too careful in the protection of its copyrighted publications. As stated heretofore, the profits accruing from these books represent practically our sole source of revenue by which the constructive and permanent work of the Conference must be supported. Members of this Conference should see to it that their congregations purchase the Conference books instead of reprinting excerpts from them to which they have no right.

X Our contract with the Bloch Publishing Company expires on February first next. We recommend that the Executive Board be empowered to renew the contract with the Bloch Publishing Co. on the same terms and conditions as at present in force. Our relations with our sales agents, the Bloch Publishing Co., have been uniformly pleasant. Mr. Chas. E. Bloch, representing this company, has always kept well to the forefront the interests of the Conference. The J. F. Tapley Co. and the Publishers' Printing Co., with whom we have done considerable business in this, as in previous years, have been faithful and conscientious in the performance of their duties, and have been uniformly courteous and considerate. To all of them we extend our warmest thanks.

The work of your Publications Committee is, from its character, necessarily done in largest part by the Chairman of the Committee. Nonetheless it is grateful to report that all members of the Committee have cheerfully responded to the call of the Chairman for any assistance that they might render in the conduct of our affairs. We are especially grateful to Rabbi Ephraim Frisch for his kindness in auditing the stock of the Bloch Publishing Co.

Appended to this report is a comparative table of business done during the past three years.

In closing our report, we urge upon the Conference once more the great importance of keeping the supervision of our publications in the hands of men endowed with some degree of business sense, and who will give to the work entrusted to them that full measure of time and attention which its very great importance demands.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO M. FRANKLIN, *Chairman*
EPHRAIM FRISCH
I. E. MARCUSON

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF BOOKS SOLD

	1914-1915	1915-1916	1916-1917
Union Prayerbook I	3,433	3,098	2,765
Union Prayerbook II	4,031	3,825	4,198
Combined I and II	10	17	31
Sabbath Evening and Morning	3,420	5,320	4,226
Weekday Service	532	430	344
Union Haggadah	1,044	1,952	1,189
Prayers for Private Devotion	109	239	659
Union Hymnal (Old)	756	113	11
Union Hymnal (New)	4,823	7,415	3,175
Sermons	683	4	20

The report was received with thanks and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Conference adjourned.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference re-assembled at 2 o'clock.

An interesting and instructive address on Niagara Falls, its history and formation was given by Mr. Peter H. Porter. It was moved and adopted that a vote of thanks be extended to Mr. Porter for his excellent lecture.

The report of the Yearbook Editor was read by Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF THE YEARBOOK

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Editor of the Yearbook begs leave to report his activities during the year.

Specifications were drawn up similar to those used in former years and bids were asked from a number of publishing houses to secure the lowest possible price at a time when printing and particularly paper were very high. The contract was awarded to The C. J. Krehbiel Co. of Cincinnati, the lowest bidder.

The business portion of the book was prepared by the editor during the summer and submitted to the President for his approval. On account of the size, the President suggested that the discussion be cut down to the smallest possible space and this was done retaining only such discussion as would be necessary to make clear the action of the Conference.

When the Executive Board met in October, the Yearbook was finished in page proof and merely awaited the approval of the Executive Board for the appointments made by the President. Until the various members appointed could be heard from and their acceptance or refusal to serve noted, it was the first of December. The Yearbook was in the hands of the members the third week in December. It is therefore self-evident that if the Yearbook it to be gotten out earlier in the year some change must be made in regard to the custom of including the new committees which require the approval of the Executive Board at the October meeting. If this custom is to continue, the Yearbook cannot be gotten into the hands of the members before the end of December.

Another matter which should have the attention of the Conference is the size of the Yearbook. The last volume ran 110 pages over the estimated size. Your Yearbook editor particularly warns against the custom of committees reading part of a report and asking permission to print in full. This past year one report ran over 100 pages of the Yearbook and was to a great extent made up of matter which had already been published elsewhere.

As this has happened in many cases and material has thus been put in the Yearbook which the editor feels would not have been published had the Conference been aware of its nature, your Yearbook editor recommends that a Committee consisting of the President and Vice-President of the Conference and the Yearbook editor shall have the authority to pass on material contained in reports and cut the reports down to reasonable length when in their judgment they should be so abridged. Your editor wishes to call your attention to the fact that the Executive Board has this authority

under the Constitution but since the Executive Board does not meet until October and the Yearbook is practically finished by that time, this authority should be vested in the Executive Officers. The same applies to papers. The Yearbook editor has been repeatedly instructed by the Executive Board not to print papers beyond the length of time allowed by the Program Committee yet this year several discussions were longer than the main papers and the writers were unwilling to cut them down and the editor does not feel that he should be asked to assume this responsibility alone. If there be a committee to whom such a matter can be referred the editor will be glad to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded to bring papers within specified length.

The Yearbook editor is glad to be able to report that the Yearbook was gotten out at a less cost in proportion to its size than ever before. This was secured by care that the copy which goes to the printer shall be perfect so that the former large cost for corrections has been practically eliminated. We have saved over $500 in the matter of corrections alone in the last two years. If the members would do their correcting before their manuscript is handed to the editor and not wait to do all their revising until the galleys are sent to them this item could be entirely eliminated.

The editor put a note on the cards sent with the last volume offering the Index to all who had files of the Yearbook and although a copy had been sent to all members and to nearly all libraries and universities, the requests for Indexes exceeded all expectations.

After consultation with the President the editor has removed from the mailing list all those who have not answered for the last three years asking that their name be retained on the mailing list of the Yearbook. Many of these were contributors to the Tract Fund which is no longer under the control of the Conference and we feel that if they care for the book a simple request will put them back on the mailing list.

The editor wishes to thank the members who kindly sent him duplicates and back numbers of the Yearbook. Everyone has been again given away to libraries or to members who did not have the particular volume. If any of the members have duplicates, the editor will be glad to serve as a clearing house to send them to others needing the volume to complete their files.

The editor wishes to thank the Executive Board for their vote of confidence in re-appointing him as editor of the Yearbook and particularly does he desire to thank the President of the Conference for hearty co-operation and advice.

Respectfully submitted,

I. E. MARCUSON, *Yearbook Editor*

The report was received with thanks and ordered printed. The report of the Curators of Archives was then read.

REPORT OF THE CURATORS OF ARCHIVES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee has completed a systematic arrangement of all the material in the Archives. It found all correspondence accounted for from 1896 to July, 1915. In other words the files containing the correspondence that took place before 1896 and after July, 1915, are not in the Archives. By the time this report is read the files from the latter date through 1916 will probably be in the Archives. If possible the correspondence of the Conference prior to 1896 should be located and sent to the Curators.

Your Committee in accordance with the recommendations adopted last year placed in the Archives ten copies of each publication whenever available. It is regrettable that this policy was not pursued earlier, as copies of a number of the publications were not available for making up the sets of ten. The Committee appends a list of the publications of which there are not ten copies on hand, in the hope that some of them may still be obtained to make our Archives complete.

Your Committee again calls attention to the fact, that of three volumes of the Yearbook not a single copy is in the Archives, namely, Vols. X, XI, XII (that is the proceedings of the years 1900-1902). The Committee strongly urges that every effort be made to obtain these volumes in order to make at least one set of Yearbooks complete. The Committee was pleased to receive since its last report, six copies of the single volumes containing the proceedings of 1892-95. These volumes are the only duplicates we have of Yearbooks prior to the issue of 1912.

In addition to the last Yearbook and Index, ten copies of the Ritual for Jewish Soldiers were placed in the Archives during the past year.

The Seniors of the Hebrew Union College in accordance with the instructions given to the Committee were given upon request a copy of every publication on the stock shelves containing the publication of the Conference.

Your Committee begs to submit the following recommendations:

I That it be authorized to have the volumes XIV, XVII, XIX bound, these being the only volumes of the Yearbook that are unbound.

II That the gavel made of the desk belonging to Isaac M. Wise and

the block with silver inscribed plate presented by the family of Isaac M. Wise on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Conference be placed in the Jewish Museum of the Hebrew Union College, same to remain the property of the Conference and to be so designated in the loan exhibit.

Your Committee further recommends that the Janitor of the
III Hebrew Union College Library, Edward Glasbrenner, who looks after our surplus stock be given $10.00 for his labor.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY ENGLANDER, *Chairman*
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF
JULIAN MORGENSTERN

APPENDIX I

Yearbooks needed to make single set of Yearbooks complete Vols. X, XI and XII.

Number of copies of Yearbooks needed to complete sets of ten copies of each Yearbook:

All volumes before Vol. XVI except the single volume containing the proceeding 1892-95, of which four more copies are desired.

Of Volume XVI	seven	more copies are needed.
Of Volume XVII	ten	more copies are needed.
Of Volume XVIII	nine	more copies are needed.
Of Volume XIX	ten	more copies are needed.
Of Volume XX	ten	more copies are needed.

The report was received and the recommendations were adopted.

The report of the Committee on Summer Services was read.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SUMMER SERVICES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Bureau on Summer Services maintained by the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Department of Synagog and School Extension has conducted during the last summer season 208 services in 29 places through the voluntary assistance of 60 rabbis and laymen.

ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY CENTRAL CONFERENCE

Early in the season your Committee on Summer Services issued a circular to the members of the Conference urging upon them, in the first place, to call to the attention of their congregants the fact that services will be held at various Summer Resorts and requesting them to participate in them and to give the workers all the support within their power. The circular also requested the co-operation of the rabbis. That this request met with success is evidenced by the number of rabbis who participated in these services.

The Conference also put at the disposal of the Bureau, leaflet reprints of the Friday Evening Service, the Saturday Morning Service, the Daily Morning Service and Daily Evening Service. 4,193 reprints were sent out in the course of the Summer Services season.

ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF SYNAGOG AND SCHOOL EXTENSION

The Department of Synagog and School Extension sent out a paid worker, Mr. Barnett R. Brickner, of Cincinnati, who visited the following summer resorts in Michigan and Wisconsin: Brown's Lake, Wis.; Cedar Lake, Wis.; Charlevoix, Mich.; Elkhart Lake, Wis., and Oden, Mich. At some of these points he organized services, at others he conducted services. The Department also paid the incidental expenses of sending rabbis to fill vacant summer service pulpits.

Detailed Account of the Services Held

Where Held	No. of Services	Rabbis and Laymen Officiating
Big Indian, N. Y. (Jewish Vacation Society)	10	Miss Augusta Wolf, New York, N. Y.
Brown's Lake, Wis.	7	Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Israel Klein, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Albert Yudelson, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Julius Leibert, South Bend, Ind. Mr. Barnett R. Brickner, Cincinnati, O.
Cambridge Springs, Pa.	3	Rabbi Maurice M. Mazure, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Camp Cayuga, Schroon Lake, N. Y.	9	Mr. Julius Ritter, New York, N. Y.
Camp Kawaga, Minocqua, Wis.	9	Rabbi B. C. Ehrenreich, Montgomery, Ala.
Camp Kiowa, Beach Lake, Pa.	10	Mr. Victor E. Reichert, New York, N. Y.

Where Held	No. of Services	Rabbis and Laymen Officiating
Casco Camps, West Poland, Lakes, Me.	4	Rabbi Leon Harrison, St. Louis, Mo. Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, Philadelphia, Pa.
Cedar Crest Camp, Belgrade Me.	22	Rabbi Joseph I. Gorfinkle, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Cedar Lake, Wis.	3	Rabbi Isidore Lewinthal, Nashville, Tenn. Rabbi David Rosenbaum, Austin, Texas. Mr. Barnett R. Brickner, Cincinnati, O.
Chain O'Lakes, Waupaca, Wis.	6	Rabbi Seymour G. Bottigheimer, Peoria, Ill.
Charlevoix, Mich.	6	Rabbi Chas. S. Levi, Milwaukee, Wis. Mr. Barnett R. Brickner, Cincinnati, O. Mr. Henry Moses, Cincinnati, O. Mr. Victor Abraham, Cincinnati, O.
College Camp, Wingdale, N. Y.	10	Mr. Irving Reichert, Cincinnati, O.
Colorado Springs, Colo.	4	Rabbi Montague N. A. Cohen, Hazleton, Pa.
Elkhart Lake, Wis.	6	Rabbi Isidore Lewinthal, Nashville, Tenn. Rabbi Israel Klein, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Albert Yudelson, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Julius A. Leibert, South Bend, Ind. Rabbi David Rosenbaum, Austin, Tex. Rabbi Emanuel Gerechter, Appleton, Wis. Mr. Barnett R. Brickner, Cincinnati, O.
Frankfort, Mich.	6	Rabbi Joseph S. Kornfeld, Columbus, O. Mr. Ralph Bamberger, Indianapolis, Ind.
Kaaterskill, N. Y.	4	Rabbi Samuel Schulman, New York, N. Y. Rabbi Leonard J. Rothstein, Alexandria, La. Rabbi Marius Ranson, Paterson, N. J.
Kennebunkport, Me.	18	Rabbi George Solomon, Savannah, Ga. Rabbi Max Heller, New Orleans, La. Rabbi James G. Heller, Philadelphia, Pa. Rabbi Louis L. Mann, New Haven, Conn. Rabbi Louis Bernstein, St. Joseph, Mo.
Lake Harbor, Mich.	5	Rabbi Louis Grossman, Cincinnati, O. Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, New Orleans, La. Rabbi Felix A. Levy, Chicago, Ill. Rabbi Albert Yudelson, Chicago, Ill.
Lake Placid, N. Y.	9	Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, New York, N. Y. Rabbi A. H. Silver, Wheeling, W. Va.
Long Lake, Adirondack Mts., N. Y.	8	Rabbi Rudolph Grossman, New York, N. Y.
Ocean Park, Cal.	8	Rabbi Sigmund Hecht, Los Angeles, Cal. Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, Los Angeles, Cal.

Where Held	No. of Services	Rabbis and Laymen Officiating
		Rabbi Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, O.
		Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson, Terre Haute, Ind.
		Mr. Marco Newmark, Los Angeles, Cal.
		Mr. Maurice Salzman, Los Angeles, Cal.
Ocean View, Va.	4	Rabbi H. A. Merfeld, Greenville, Miss.
Oden, Mich.	1	Mr. Barnett R. Brickner, Cincinnati, O.
Omena, Mich.	8	Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, Detroit, Mich.
		Rabbi Joseph Stolz, Chicago, Ill.
Ottawa Beach, Mich.	7	Rabbi Felix A. Levy, Chicago, Ill.
		Rabbi Henry Englander, Cincinnati, O.
		Rabbi Samuel Thurman, St. Louis, Mo.
		Rabbi Harold F. Reinhart, Gary, Ind.
Petoskey, Mich.	5	Rabbi Morris Newfield, Birmingham, Ala.
Pike County, Pa., West Colang Hotel.	2	Rabbi Clifton H. Levy, New York, N. Y.
Shawanese, Pa.	4	Rabbi Marcus Salzman, Wilkes Barre, Pa.
Wildwood, N. J.	10	Rabbi Leonard J. Rothstein, Alexandria, La.
		Rabbi Henry Barnstein, Houston, Tex.
		Rabbi A. Brill, Meridian, Miss.
		Rabbi Solomon Kory, Vicksburg, Miss.
		Rabbi Meyer Lovitch, Scranton, Pa.
		Mr. E. Whitehill, Wildwood, N. J.

SUMMARY

In 1910—17 rabbis held 60 services in 10 places.
In 1911— 8 rabbis held 40 services in 8 places.
In 1912—23 rabbis held 115 services in 18 places.
In 1913—29 rabbis held 137 services in 21 places.
In 1914—39 rabbis held 141 services in 21 places.
In 1915—45 rabbis and laymen held 176 services in 29 places.
In 1916—60 rabbis and laymen held 208 services in 29 places.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Various amounts were contributed by the summer congregations and these were devoted for the purposes indicated below:

Brown's Lake, Wis., $18.75 for the Department of Synagog and School Extension; Cedar Lake, Wis., $20.11 for the Department of Synagog and School Extension; Charlevoix, Mich., $16.75 for the Department of Synagog and School Extension; Frankfort, Mich., $27.10 was equally divided between the Department of Synagog and School Extension and the Superannuated Ministers' Fund; Lake

Placid, N. Y., $50 for the Department of Synagog and School Extension; Ottawa Beach, Mich., $40.98 was equally divided between the Department of Synagog and School Extension and the American Jewish Relief Committee.

THANKS

Your Committee desires to express its thanks to the rabbis and laymen that assisted in this work, to the Department of Synagog and School Extension for the assistance mentioned above and to the officers of the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for the many courtesies extended to the Committee on Summer Services.

Respectfully submitted,

FELIX A. LEVY, *Chairman*	EMIL W. LEIPZIGER
ISRAEL BETTAN	EDGAR F. MAGNIN
MONTAGUE N. A. COHEN	LOUIS L. MANN
LOUIS I. EGELSON	HARRY H. MAYER
BERNARD C. EHRENREICH	H. A. MERFELD
DAVID FICHMAN	WILLIAM RICE
JULIUS FRANK	DAVID ROSENBAUM
WILLIAM H. GREENBURG	LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN
ADOLPH GUTTMAN	MAXWELL SILVER
SIGMUND HECHT	ADOLPH SPIEGEL

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Special Committee on Holiday Observance was then read.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON HOLIDAY OBSERVANCE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Last February your President requested as an emergency measure that I act as Chairman of the Special Committee on Holiday Observance. Feeling that on account of some special work I hoped to complete this year I would not be able to do justice to the responsible duty, I urged your President to appoint someone else. But as the time was growing short, I finally yielded.

I make this explanation so that you will not criticize my report too adversely. The question ought to have been thoroughly studied and the members of the Committee should have had at least one meeting during the year; in default of that, they should

have received several communications from me to enlist more of their co-operation. As it was, there was no meeting and I had time to send out only one request for suggestions to embody in this report.

I received prompt replies from two members of the Committee. One gave a number of valuable ideas to be noted later. The other asked for another reminder later in the season. About a month later, I received a communication from a third member of the Committee in which were given some helpful words. I failed to hear from six members.

In the light of all this, I ask again your indulgence as I submit the following report to you for the Special Committee on Holiday Observance.

PASSOVER

The Seder is the strong power for holding the Passover in the minds and hearts of the people. The public Seder seems to be a growing institution. The two members of the Committee reporting agreed on the desirability of this innovation. In the one case, it was specified that the public Seder be held "on the second night of Passover after supper". The children participate actively and the parents passively. It is highly successful from a social and religious standpoint.

While the Chairman of the Committee realizes that half a loaf is better than none at all, he feels that the public Seder as a congregational institution is a mistake. The Seder service belongs in the home and no efforts should be spared to keep it there or restore it to its proper place in the family life. A modernized Hagada can appeal to the most liberal Jew. To familiarize the congregation with the Seder tunes as written in the Union Hagada, the suggestion is offered of having the choir sing these melodies on the Sabbath before and during the Passover. The rabbi might explain the meaning of each one between the numbers. This could take the place of the usual anthem before or after the sermon. If the Seder is generally observed in the homes, it seems more than probable that the first day of the Feast will be faithfully observed by a large attendance at the Synagog. No question was raised and no suggestions were offered regarding the keeping of the seventh day of Passover. Is it generally true that this last day is but little remembered? If so, the Committee feels obliged to suggest the alternative of working out some plan for a dignified observance of the day or in all honesty agitate for one day Passover, as we have one day Shabuoth, Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur (and by anticipation, one day Sukkoth also).

SHABUOTH

The Confirmation ceremony, of course, has been the distinct contribution of reform Judaism for the rehabilitation of this Feast. It is a healthy sign for reform that the rabbis and the laity are making straggling, but telling efforts to keep this ceremony on a high plane of spirituality. It might be well for the Conference to frame some resolution to this end to send to all rabbis and congregations that have this ceremony of confimation. A tract on the subject would be very valuable.

ROSH HASHANA AND YOM KIPPUR

These two days form such a unit in the Jewish mind that it seems unnecessary to offer any explanation for speaking of them together. The hold which they have on the Jewish soul should make any consideration of their observance in this report purely gratuitous.

But the two members of the Committee urged special children's services in connection with these two holy days. Judging from press reports this movement for special ritual for the little folks, on these two days, is growing apace. The Chairman, however, feels that this is unwise and questions its consonance with the spirit of true reform. In fact, it seems to savor more of ritualism alone, that is usually the hall mark of all orthodoxies. The Chairman begs to submit at least a few thoughts for the support of his position.

What seems to be a most convincing argument against the move is the very deep hold that these two days have on the heart of Israel. There appear to be no indications at all that the call of these days is less or ever will be less than now. Even the radical reformers who alter the dates for observing the Feasts of Passover, Pentecost and Booths, have apparently never dreamt of having services for Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur on the following Sunday, if these days happen to fall on week days. The country Jews who live in isolated villages or towns make great efforts to have students come to them to officiate for these two days. The days have a matchless dignity and appeal, and are a tribute alike to the Jew and Judaism. So the sincere zeal for the cause need not fret out new channels for the flow of religious fervor on these days.

Must not this very high level of spirituality be lowered if the thought of children's services is associated with these days? There is no symbolism such as is beautifully afforded by the three feasts which would lend a telling meaning to the child mind for these two awesome days. The joy of God's mercy to a contrite heart cannot come to an undeveloped mind. It does seem inevitable that the lofty idealism of the days is swept aside by the spontaneously happy

gait and face of tripping children that must and ought to be prominent in children's services.

The consideration of not least importance is the question as to whether the New Year and Atonement Days lend themselves in any wise at all for interpretation to children. I am aware that services for such purposes have been prepared and are being used. I think that it would be helpful if the men who introduced this custom would make reports thereon, and some Committee be appointed by the Conference to collate the material and publish it to help in a judgment, *pro* or *con*. Personally, I would prefer to see the somewhat matured and earnest men and women in the congregation prepare some conscientiously worked out sentiments voicing their Jewish convictions, particularly with regard to the appeal of such a divine observance, as is the Atonement Day. These I would like to have spoken by these men and women, at the time usually given to the biblical readings, which do tend to the prefunctory, and perhaps caused the reaction to the recess idea or these children services. I would like to enlarge on this, but as it is, I fear I am passing the bounds of a committee report.

SUKKOTH

The children are well taken care of in this holy season with the Sukkoth celebration. Whereas with Passover, the Synagog should emphasize the home gathering for Seder, with Sukkoth we can more consistently sanction the reform of having a congregational Sukkah and letting the children conduct a Harvest Service. The question of what to do with the closing day of the Feast again arises. One member of the Committee suggests reviving the *Simchas Torah* joys. I regret to obtrude my opinion again, but I cannot find a responsive chord to this idea.

I am not sure whether thought was given to Chanukka and Purim in this report. One member of the Committee, however, wrote that he held a special service for the children in the vestry room of the Temple on the Sunday of Chanukka week. The children participated and the parents were auditors. He continues that on Purim a like service is held and usually there is a Purim Masked Ball in one of the hotels, the first half of the evening being given over to the children and the later half to the adults.

The nature of the service on these minor festivals was not detailed. I presume, however, that these two days will continue among us rather as religious school festivals, passing note being taken of them in the Synagog on the Sabbath nearest their incidence.

I realize that it is a little unfair to bother the members of the Conference with questionnaires, but it does seem to me to be worth

while to have each rabbi specify what he is doing in this matter of Holyday observance or what suggestions he has to make and the Conference appoint a Committee to edit the material and publish it as part of the history of reform Judaism in the United States.

The Committee did not deem it part of its duty to discuss the Sabbath in connection with this report. It feels, however, that special attention should be given this by a special committee. There have been many things introduced by various rabbis in order to make the Sabbath mean more to the people. A study of this subject is most desirable.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I That the rabbis emphasize Seder observance in the home, rather than Congregational Seders. In large cities, public Seders for students and strangers are to be encouraged. Otherwise, however, the Seder should always be in the home.

II That the Hagada melodies be sung in the Synagog just before Passover to familiarize the people with them. (Of course, the Religious School will bring home the importance of the Seder celebration to the children).

III Some earnest thought should be given to the observance of the last day of Passover and the Feast of Booths. Something should be done to increase the worth and dignity of the celebration of these days in the eyes of the people. The alternative is the adoption of the idea of observing only the first day of these festivals, even as other Holydays are observed but one day.

IV Efforts should be made to keep the Confirmation ceremony of Shabuoth on a high plane of spirituality. The Conference ought to publish a tract on this subject.

V A special paper should be prepared for the Conference regarding the advisability of children's services on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur.

VI A special report should be prepared embodying the practices of Rabbis on Holydays, to be a contribution to the history of Reform Judaism in the United States.

Respectfully submitted,

ELI MAYER, *Chairman* SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON
MOISE BERGMAN JACOB H. KAPLAN
SEYMOUR G. BOTTIGHEIMER LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN

The report was received and referred to a Special Committee consisting of Rabbis Bottigheimer, Leipziger, Newfield, Philo and Thurman for further consideration, the committee to report at a later session of the convention. (See p. 160.)

The report of the Board of Editors was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Philipson.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOL LITERATURE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Board of Editors of Religious School Literature begs leave to report as follows concerning the work of the past season:

The Board has accepted the following three manuscripts:

"Hebrew Manual" serving as an introduction to the Prayerbook, by Rabbi Max Reichler.

"Confirmation Manual," by Rabbi Hyman G. Enelow.

"The Book of Genesis", by Rabbi Julian Morgenstern.

This last volume was originally intended as the work for the first collaborator towards a textbook for religious schools on this subject. The second collaborator is at work producing the textbook. In the opinion of the Board of Editors this volume of Rabbi Morgenstern was found worthy of separate publication as a literary study for adults.

The Board of Editors at the present moment is considering two manuscripts.

Kindergarten Manual, by Miss Eva Landman.

Chanukkah Play, by Mr. A. Broide.

The Secretary of the Board of Editors has received four more manuscripts which will soon be forwarded to the members of the Board. These are:

Jewish Legends, by Miss Jennie Reitzenstein.

Jewish Post-Biblical History through Great Personalities, by Miss Adele Bildersee.

Two Purim Plays, by Miss Miriam Selligman.

The Board of Editors has authorized the following writers to produce textbooks named below, the acceptance of which, however, is to be determined by a vote of the Board:

History of the Jews in America, by Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg.

Talmudic Reader, by Rabbi Jacob Z. Lauterbach.

Jewish Holiday Book, by Rabbi David Lefkowitz.

Bible Games, by Rabbi Louis Witt.

Jewish History from the Exile to the Destruction, First Collaborator, Rabbi Henry Englander. Second Collaborator, Miss Esther Godshaw.

"The Genesis Stories", based upon the manuscript of Rabbi Julian Morgenstern, already accepted. Textbook being prepared by second collaborator, Miss Elsa Weihl.

Reconstructed Bible Reader, Period Saul to Exile, based on Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, by Rabbi Jacob D. Schwarz.

The Board is in correspondence with various other writers, who desire to produce textbooks, the titles of which are not fully determined, nor are the books ready for publication.

The Board of Editors is in correspondence with the International Sunday School Association which has invited the Board to participate in a Commission for Studying the Relationship between Bible Study and Public Education.

The Board of Editors is considering the advisability of publishing a Yearbook of the Jewish Religious Teachers' Associations in various parts of the country.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman* WILLIAM ROSENAU
GEORGE ZEPIN, *Secretary* SAMUEL SCHULMAN
LOUIS GROSSMAN ABRAM SIMON
KAUFMAN KOHLER

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Descriptive Catalog was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Zepin.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON DESCRIPTIVE CATALOG

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Descriptive Catalog, begs leave to report that a moderate amount of progress has been achieved in the task of reviewing a list of books containing some 600 titles. Although sixty-eight books have been received by present and former members of the Committee, only the fewest of these have been reviewed this year.

The Committee consisting of twenty-five members has found itself handicapped because it could not arrange a meeting to determine certain fundamental questions of method and so forth. At this convention a meeting was held of all the members of the Committee who were in the city on June 28 and the recommendations proposed are set forth below. The members who have since arrived at the Conference have signed the report.

I It is the opinion of the Committee that the task of preparing and editing paragraph reviews of six hundred books is too great for a volunteer committee. The fact that 68 books have been reviewed in three years seems to be conclusive evidence in this direction. The Committee, being of the opinion that a descriptive catalog will be of great value to religious school teachers, requests the Conference to appropriate $100.00 and to empower the Committee to engage a Secretary to prepare the catalog.

II Whether the work should be left altogether to a Secretary or partly to a Secretary and partly to a Committee, our Committee does not care to pass upon; we recommend, however, that an editorial committee, such as the larger Committee now contains, be retained.

III We recommend also that the descriptive catalog when completed be printed for general distribution to religious schools.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE ZEPIN, *Chairman*	DAVID LEVY
SAMUEL S. COHON	MEYER LOVITCH
MAX HELLER	EUGENE MANNHEIMER
ABRAM HIRSCHBERG	MARIUS RANSON
MORRIS S. LAZARON	A. H. SILVER
LEE J. LEVINGER	ABRAM SIMON

The report was received and referred to the Executive Board.

The Vice-President takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Rosenau.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION WITH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations begs leave to report:

1. Among the recommendations made by the Committee on President's Message delivered at the Wildwood Conference, said Committee endorsed the President's suggestion, that "members of the Conference be urged to lend earnest support to various organized movements looking to the relief of Jews suffering from the effects of the war in various countries and that, moreover, they again bring this great need to the attention of their congregations in a special sermon during the coming Holy Days." (Yearbook Vol. XXVI, pp. 162-163.) In accordance with this endorsement and in response

to a circular letter addressed to the members of our Conference, our members brought to the attention of their respective constituencies the sorry plight of our brethren in the war zones and thus helped the Conference in co-operating with the movement to collect money for relief prior to the launching of the Ten Million Dollar Fund of 1917. Your Committee is happy to state that, complying with the subsequent request of the Joint Distribution Committee, followed up by a circular letter addressed to our membership by your President, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, through its members located in many communities, is playing an important part in raising the ten million dollars needed this year to allay suffering among our co-religionists abroad. Your Committee therefore recommends,

I that the Central Conference of American Rabbis in its twenty-eighth annual convention held at Buffalo, put itself on record, as pledging through its members its active support of every movement looking to the relief of suffering, not only among Jews, but also among non-Jews in the belligerent countries of the world, and that to help in the redemption of its pledge, the members of the Conference be asked to present in one of the sermons during the coming Holy Days the needs of suffering foreign Jewries.

2. Although the Central Conference of American Rabbis on its own initiative did much valuable work for the benefit of the soldiers stationed at the Mexican border during the fall of 1916, your Committee is glad to report that the work done by the Conference was later co-ordinated with that planned by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and with that also planned by the Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations, so that duplication and waste of effort were prevented. In this connection your Committee desires to recommend the participation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, by way of representation, in the formation of the "Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy." Nor can your Committee overlook the importance attached to the Conference's participation in the formation of a common Prayerbook to be issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America and to be used by the Jewish men in the army and navy. In view of the circumstances that the thousands of Jews serving our country will stand in need of a variety of religious ministrations, the Jewish chaplains and social workers required will be many and the funds necessarily large. Your Committee there-

II fore recommends, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis co-operate to the greatest possible extent in meeting the existing needs for chaplains by volunteers among its members and by requesting that the members of the Conference appeal to their respective communities to help finance the valuable service to be

rendered by the "Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy."

3. Whereas, it was moved and unanimously carried (Yearbook, Vol. XXVI, p. 95), that the Central Conference of American Rabbis be represented by Rabbis Berkowitz, Philipson, Rosenau and Schulman at the conference of national organizations called by the American Jewish Committee to be held at the Astor Hotel, New York, July 16, 1916, the aforementioned men attended said meeting. Since then the erstwhile differences existing between the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Congress Organization Society have been apparently adjusted. It was at first thought that the Congress would convene by May 1. However, on account of conditions existing in Europe and in this country, it was determined that the convening of the Congress be postponed until September 2, 1917. Among the four hundred delegates, the Central Conference of American Rabbis has been allotted four. For every one of these the Conference is expected to pay $245.00 or $980.00 for the four men who are to represent us. Because of the large taxation which has been put upon us and which we cannot meet, since our funds are devoted in the main to Pension and Relief work among deserving colleagues and their families; and furthermore, because of the added circumstance, that other national organizations have withdrawn for reasons worthy of most serious consideration, your Committee recommends that the Conference consider anew whether the Central Conference of American Rabbis is to be represented in the forthcoming Congress.

III

4. The Chairman of your Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations appointed Rabbi Abram Simon as the Conference's representative to appear together with the International Committee on Marriage and Divorce before the Judiciary Committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives for the advocacy of the need of an amendment to the Federal Constitution for the purpose of obtaining by appropriate legislation uniform laws as to Marriage and Divorce.

5. In the report of the Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations, presented to the Conference at Wildwood, the following recommendation was made: "that the Central Conference of American Rabbis through its Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations, ascertain the character and purposes of the National Federation of Religious Liberals with a view of joining this body at next year's convention if deemed advisable." (Yearbook, Vol. XXVI, p. 88.) Said recommendation was adopted and referred to the Executive Board. (Yearbook, Vol. XXVI, p. 95.) The Executive Board appointed Rabbis Berkowitz and Schulman to make the necessary investigation. On the basis of their report, the

following action was taken by the Executive Board: That the Central Conference of American Rabbis join the National Federation of Religious Liberals, the dues to be $100 per annum.

IV Your Committee therefore recommends, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis concur in this decision of the Executive Board.

Respectfully submitted,

William Rosenau, *Chairman*	David Philipson
*Max Heller	Samuel Schulman
Kaufman Kohler	Joseph Silverman
Joseph Krauskopf	Joseph Stolz
David Lefkowitz	

The report was received and the recommendations were taken up seriatim.

Recommendations I and II were adopted.

Recommendation III was referred to the Committee on President's Message.

Recommendation IV was referred to the Finance Committee, which Committee having reported favorably, the recommendation was adopted.

Rabbi Philipson—I signed the report, but I do not believe the matter concerning the Congress should have a place in it. This report should merely touch on matters relating to co-operation with other national organizations. The President touched on the Congress matter in his message and I felt that it should not be discussed in this report.

Rabbi Heller—I objected to the title Jewish Board for Welfare Work because it fails to emphasize the fact that we are going to do religious work.

Rabbi Landman—At the meeting in New York this matter was discussed thoroughly. It was decided that the term Jewish Welfare covered the whole ground. If it is Jewish, it is religious. This board as a single body representing all shades of Judaism and all types of welfare work shall be in sole control.

*Rabbi Heller objects to the title "Welfare Work" in Recommendation II and to the words "worthy of most serious consideration" in Recommendation III.

Rabbi Kornfeld—A few days ago an appeal was sent out by this board asking for contributions for religious and recreational work. Is it the intention to segregate the Jewish boys for recreational activities? If I am correct we have merely authorized religious work, to give to our boys the ministry of our religion at any time that they may need it.

Rabbi Landman—The present purpose is to co-operate with the Y. M. C. A. as requested by the Secretary of War. In every Y. M. C. A. branch, one of the secretaries will be a Jew, appointed and supported by the Jewish Board for Welfare Work. The Jewish secretary will be able to take care especially of the Jewish boys. In recreational matters the secretaries will co-operate, but the Jewish secretary will look after the individual needs of the Jewish boys which constantly arise as all who have had experience in camps must realize.

Rabbi Schulman—I desire to speak on the recommendation of the President that we join the National Federation of Religious Liberals. I am opposed to this because I do not believe that the Central Conference of American Rabbis though representing liberal thought within Judaism should be classed with the free religious associations and ethical culture societies which make up this Federation. Israel is a religious people and, while we are reformed, we are not so far from historic religion as to go and join ourselves with these societies.

Rabbi Berkowitz—I strongly urge the entrance of the Conference into this Federation. We are living at a time when we must stand for progressive movements. The title of the organization indicates what it is—it is a Federation, not an amalgamation and the organizations identified with it are the forward-looking groups in each religion which are anxious that liberal thought shall not be swamped in this most illiberal time in the history of the world.

Rabbi Fox—Would the speaker kindly explain what this Federation stands for?

Rabbi Berkowitz—Its object is to bring together men and women who stand for religion and by holding conferences and public sessions to stimulate in each community those forces in religion which are endeavoring to get out of the medievalism so largely prevailing and give courage and enthusiasm to the men and women in the communities who stand for a broader fellowship in religion. It has no legislative authority.

Rabbi Wolsey—It has been asked, What will it mean for American Israel if we join this Federation? It will mean that the Conference, as an association of Jewish teachers, desires to encourage the growth of liberal religious thought in the world.

The Conference adjourned.

Friday Evening

The Conference assembled for divine services at Temple Beth Zion at 8:15 o'clock.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Louis Grossman. The Evening Service for the Sabbath from the Union Prayerbook was read by Rabbi Montague N. A. Cohen. The Conference lecture was delivered by Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson (Appendix B). The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Seymour G. Bottigheimer.

Saturday Morning, June 30th

The Conference assembled for divine services. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber. The Sabbath Morning Service from the Union Prayerbook was read by Rabbi Abraham Holzberg. Rabbi Louis Haas read the weekly portion from the Torah. The Conference sermon was preached by Rabbi Isaac S. Moses (Appendix C). The benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Louis J. Kopald.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

A Talmudic discourse dealing with the ordinances of the Rabbinical Assembly at Usha in the second century of the common era (*Kethuboth* 49b-50a), was led by Rabbi Jacob Z. Lauterbach.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 1ST

The Conference convened at 10 o'clock. The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Harvey B. Franklin.

The following resolution was introduced:

RESOLUTION ON RABBINICAL SUMMER SCHOOL

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned, realizing the inability of many rabbis in office to continue their rabbinical studies, either for the sake of the knowledge itself which can thus be acquired or for proper preparation leading to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, beg to present for consideration and adoption the following points:

1. That the Central Conference of American Rabbis shall take the necessary steps for launching a Rabbinical Summer School.

2. That the Central Conference of American Rabbis put itself into communication with the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for the purpose of finding out to what extent these institutions will accept as credits leading to the Doctor degree the work done in the Rabbinical Summer School.

That the following be the tentative plan on the basis of which the Summer School shall be launched:

A. QUALIFICATION FOR MATRICULATION

These sessions shall be arranged for the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Others who should desire to attend must have special permission from the Committee in charge.

B. LENGTH OF SESSION

These sessions should last for two weeks; four hours daily, total 40 hours.

c. subjects of study

Since biblical subjects are given in many other Summer Schools, the subjects in this school should be limited to post-biblical literature, for which there are no other opportunities available. The subjects should be arranged in three classes:

(1) Talmudic-Rabbinic
(2) History and Literature
(3) Philosophy, Theology and Liturgy.

In these subjects most of the time should be given to the study of the text and original sources; and only part of the time to accompanying lectures. No general lectures should be included. The schedule should be so arranged that every year at least two of the three courses be given. Thus, e. g., one year, Talmud and Philosophy, and the next year, Philosophy and History. Which of the two courses of a particular year should be retained for the following year shall depend upon the number of prospective students registered in advance for each course.

The courses should be so arranged as to be helpful to the candidates for the D. D. degree. For this reason, the subjects taught in each course should be so arranged that in two successive summer sessions the candidate could obtain a complete mastery of at least one minor subject required for the D. D., besides receiving helpful guidance in the pursuit of the study of his major subject. The committee in charge should ascertain from the College authorities the requirements for such minor subjects, and guide itself accordingly in the arrangement of the courses.

4. That a special committee be appointed by the incoming Executive Board to take the necessary steps to launch the school at as early a date as possible.

Signed:

Henry Berkowitz	David Philipson
Harry W. Ettelson	Joseph Rauch
Samuel H. Goldenson	William Rosenau
Louis Grossman	Samuel Schulman
Max Heller	Abba Hillel Silver
Joseph Krauskopf	Joseph Stolz
David Lefkowitz	Martin Zielonka
Martin A. Meyer	

Upon motion duly adopted the resolution was referred to a special committee consisting of Rabbis Newfield, Deinard, Harvey B. Franklin, Kornfeld, Lazaron, Levinger, Marx, Ranson and Samuel Schwartz for consideration, the committee to report later during the convention. (See p. 157.)

It was moved and duly adopted that the report of the Committee on President's Message be made the special order of business for Tuesday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

A telegram was received from the Hon. Herbert C. Hoover asking the co-operation of the members of the Conference in the matter of food conservation. The following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the Sabbath of this week has been officially designated "Food Conservation Sabbath", on which the united support of the representatives of all faiths has been solicited and on which sermons were preached in all pulpits for the patriotic purpose of bringing home to the country the need of observing the strictest economy in the use of foods,

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in annual convention assembled, telegraph this day to Mr. Herbert C. Hoover its hearty approval of this campaign of conservation and economy and that it assure him of the loyal support of our membership in this necessary and important work for the winning of the war.

And be it further resolved, that we delegate a member of the Conference to be the representative of the Conference to be present at a meeting called by Mr. Hoover at Washington, on July 10, to consider the question of Food Conservation and that our representative be instructed to aid in every way in this patriotic work.

MAX J. MERRITT
JULIAN MORGENSTERN
ISIDOR E. PHILO

The President appointed Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf to be the Conference representative at the meeting called for July 10, and the following telegram was sent to Mr. Hoover:

Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis now in session in this city has appointed Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf to represent it at the informal meeting you have called for July 10, at Washington. The Conference transmits its best wishes to you and your confreres and sincerely pledges itself to be of service in the splendid work you are undertaking in behalf of the nation.

The report of the Conference representatives on the Advisory

Board of the Hebrew Union College was read by Rabbi Leipziger.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE REPRESENTATIVES ON THE ADVISORY BOARD OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Advisory Board of the Hebrew Union College elected by the Conference of 1916 begs leave to report as follows:

During the year 1916-17 your Conference Representatives of the Advisory Board as well as other members of the Board of Governors, who are also members of the Conference made several suggestions to the Board of the College.

First—One by Rabbi Leipziger urging the necessity of emphasizing in the curriculum of the college the scope and method as well as the vision of the modern worker in the field of Social Service.

Second—One by Rabbi Calisch that the librarian of the College should send to the members of the rabbinate and to others interested a bi-monthly or even semi-annual list of books which the Library would like to obtain, so that having a number of people looking out for a similar object there would be a greater likelihood of its being obtained.

Third—One from both Rabbis Stolz and Leipziger that there be considered the advisability of supplementing the present instruction in rabbinical practice by mapping out a course of topics covering the practical life of the rabbi and by extending an invitation from time to time to rabbis of long experience in the ministry to address the student body upon these various spheres of rabbinical activity.

Fourth—One by Rabbi Stolz that in passing upon the eligibility of new students special consideration be given to the religious home training of the applicant and to the fact whether or not he comes from a community where there is an organized Jewish congregation.

In regard to the first suggestion concerning training for Social Service, which was referred to the Committee on Course of Study, no report of action was made for several months. However, upon urgent request of your Committee, the answer came, with an expression of regret for the oversight, that Doctor Bogen had delivered nearly forty lectures on the subject suggested and that arrangements would undoubtedly be made with him to continue the course next year.

The second suggestion in regard to sending out lists of desired

books was replied to by the Chairman of the Library Committee to the effect that this suggestion had been met before at the 1915 meeting and must be met again with the statement that such a publication was too expensive for consideration.

In regard to the other suggestions, the reply was made that they would be presented to the Board at its next regular meeting after the Joint Session of the Advisory and the Regular Board. Since then, however, your Committee has received no information in regard to them.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that the course of lectures given this winter at the Hebrew Union College on Synagog Music was inspired by this Conference. When Rabbi Singer gave his paper on Synagog Music at the Atlantic City convention, a resolution was introduced that the Board of Governors consider the advisability of having such a course for the students. Acting upon this suggestion, Rabbi Singer was invited to give the course and he delivered the lectures in Cincinnati during the winter just past.

One other matter remains to be reported which might involve a possible breach of happy and profitable relations between the Board of Governors and your Advisory Committee. This may be best presented by referring to the following letter of Rabbi Solomon written in response to the invitation to attend the joint meeting of October 24, 1916—the only meeting, let it be borne in mind, that is held during the year. With the sentiments, the aim and spirit of this letter, your other member heartily agrees:

Savannah, Ga., October 16, 1916

Mr. Edward L. Heinsheimer, Pres.,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir: It was with great regret that I note that the Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors and the Advisory Board will be held on October 24 next, since local arrangements of an imperative nature prevent my going to Cincinnati on that day.

As a member of the Advisory Board, representing the Central Conference, I feel that any recommendation coming from me and my colleagues to the Board should first be discussed with the executive officers of the Conference and there is scarcely time between now and the meeting for such interchange of opinion. Though I scarcely see how it would be possible for me to do so, if there is any chance of my rearranging things locally so as to be able to attend the meeting, I will do so.

I do not want you to construe this letter in the nature of a complaint, but I would venture the suggestion that thirty days' notice in the future be furnished, for I believe that since these

meetings are infrequent, the representatives, as in my own case, when they have sufficient notice, would very willingly attempt to arrange other matters so that they could be present.

With cordial greetings,

Sincerely yours

(signed) GEORGE SOLOMON

In response to this communication, the interesting statement came from the Secretary of the Board of Governors "that sufficient notice would be given to representatives of the Advisory Committee, if the several bodies would inform the Board in sufficient time of the appointment of their members on the Advisory Board. This matter had been completely neglected by the constituent bodies until the officers were reminded of the neglect by the Secretary."

Your Committee desires to add to this statement of Secretary Bloom that the value of any future Advisory Committees of the Conference can be considerably enhanced and their work made effective if the members of the Committee would be promptly and thoroughly informed of its scope, its aims and its rights, before the Board of Governors.

Respectfully submitted,

EMIL W. LEIPZIGER

GEORGE SOLOMON

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Responsa was then read.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESPONSA

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: There is a saying that one swallow does not make a summer. For years no *sheelah* or ritual question came before me and if any was submitted it was scarcely important enough to bring before so large a committee as this one is for decision. One question that I received was also submitted simultaneously to two other members of this Committee who are also members of the faculty of the Hebrew Union College, namely, Rabbis Deutsch and Lauterbach. The question was asked by a colleague and was, whether he living in New York might go to Providence, R. I., to solemnize the marriage of a nephew to his aunt, called by him—step-aunt—she being the daughter of his grandfather by a second wife.

It is superfluous to state that such a marriage is prohibited by the law as incestuous, and accordingly, the opinion given by the three of us was negative.

The following answers were given to a colleague who submitted a series of questions in regard to burial rites.

a. That the Jews, whether orthodox or liberal, may bury their dead in a section of a cemetery in which the greater part is devoted to the burial of non-Jews is evidenced by the story of the Cave of Machpelah which, according to Genesis XXIII, formed part of the burial place of the Hittites. It was separated, however, by a field with its trees as verse 17 shows. And it seems that the Jews in the middle ages loved to plant trees in their cemeteries, so that we find them called by Christian writers, *Hortus Judaeorum*, "the Garden of the Jews". (See Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 77.)

b. c. In biblical times the better classes had their family sepulchre (see Gen. XLIX, 31; I Kings XIII, 22 and often) and the burial place of the fathers endeared the desolate cities to the Jews (Neh. II, 3). Only the common people seemed to have had a common burial place. (II Kings 23, 6; Jerem. XXVI, 23. Compare the Potter's Field in Matth. XXVII, 7.)

Later on the acquisition of a cemetery became one of the first obligations of a Jewish congregation, as may be learned from the significant words of Ruth: "Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried" (Ruth I, 17), and to visit the father's grave on special occasions was one of the religious practices of the Jew, prayers being offered there. Of course, the Jewish cemetery was always to be distinguished from the non-Jewish ones, intrinsically as it was to be treated with special marks of reverence due to the sacred character of the surroundings of the dead, and externally, as none of the signs and symbols of other creeds could have a place there. Thus naturally a separate place was required for the Jewish cemetery, in fact, by a talmudic law codified in *Yoreh Deah* 362, 5 and based on II Kings XIII, 21 (See *Sanh.* 47a) the burial of a wicked person alongside of a righteous one is also regarded as wrong. But no law exists in our rabbinic codes requiring either walls or fences to separate the Jewish cemetery from another one. The walls or fences were, however, found necessary for the protection of the graves against violations by the mobs, so frequent especially during the Dark Ages. Consequently any form of separation, whether by granite posts or by considerably larger pathways distinguishing the Jewish section from the Christian ones is sufficient.

d. There is no law requiring the burial of the dead in the nearest cemetery. As a matter of fact, the only consideration in the choice of a cemetery was either the probable preference by the dead of the place where relatives of his were buried or the

better security of the body against bad conditions of environment such as inundation.

e. For digging the grave or doing other mechanical work preparatory to the burial, non-Jews may be and always have been employed. Only such services as are performed directly for the dead during the burial are obligatory to his fellow-Jews.

I Your Chairman has written to the members of the Committee suggesting that all ritual questions should be submitted to the faculty of the Hebrew Union College and that the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis should be requested to regard the Faculty of the Hebrew Union College as the Standing Committee on Responsa.

Respectfully submitted,
KAUFMAN KOHLER, *Chairman*
JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH

The report was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Tracts was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Morgenstern.

REPORT OF THE TRACT COMMISSION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Joint Tract Commission of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, regrets to be compelled to report that owing to new and unforeseen difficulties in obtaining from the United States postal authorities the privilege of second-class mail rates for the tracts, the publication and distribution of tracts was again of necessity deferred. It is believed, however, that a way has at last been found whereby the desired mailing privilege can be obtained in conformity with the postal laws of the country.

It is proposed that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods provide in their constitutions for the appropriation of five cents ($0.05) of the annual dues of each individual member as the subscription of said member to our Jewish Educational Tracts. This will give us a bona-fide subscription list of almost forty thousand names, and permit us to publish and distribute approximately sixty thousand tracts at the second-class mail rate. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the National Federations of Temple Sisterhoods have already embodied the

necessary provision in their constitutions. Your Committee I urgently recommends that similar action be taken by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, by adopting Article IV, Section 4 of the revised form of the Constitution, presented to this convention by a committee appointed for that purposes. The section reads:

> The sum of five (5) cents shall be taken from the dues paid by each member of the Conference and used to pay the subscription fee of said member for tracts to be issued by the Joint Tract Commission of the Conference and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Your Committee is confident that this action will solve the problem of distribution of tracts and enable the Commission to proceed actively with the important work entrusted to it.

The Committee is happy to report that the tract on Jewish Ethics by Rabbi Samuel Schulman has been received and will be published during the course of the coming year. It is also pleased to report that despite the heavy financial burdens now resting upon our co-religionists in this country, thanks to the effective work of the Sub-Committee on Finance, under the supervision of its Chairman, Rabbi Morris M. Feuerlicht, contributions to the Conference Tract Fund for the year have totalled $1,049.75, an exceptionally high mark.

Under the able and experienced supervision of Rabbi Samuel Hirshberg, the Sub-Committee on Sermon Pamphlet has issued the usual useful volume of sermons for the holidays. Likewise, excellent holiday press notices have been prepared by Rabbis Harry W. Ettelson and Solomon B. Freehof, under the supervision of Rabbi William Rosenau, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Holiday Press Notices. Both sermon pamphlet and press notices have been distributed through the office of the Secretary of the Joint Tract Commission, Rabbi George Zepin. To all these gentlemen the appreciative thanks of the Committee are tendered.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From October 15, 1915, to June 1, 1917

Receipts

From Central Conference of American Rabbis	$2,817.73
From Individual Subscribers	1,049.75
From Donations to Sermon Pamphlet Fund	14.00
Total Receipts	$3,881.48

Disbursements

Traveling Expenses of Members of Commission	$ 50.00
Stationery and Office Supplies	33.06
Postage	20.34
Cost of Printing and Mailing Holiday Notices	431.57
Cost of Printing and Mailing Holiday Calendars	15.47
Cost of Printing and Mailing Sermon Pamphlets	130.68
Cost of Printing 1,000 Preliminary Tracts, Nos. 1 and 2	21.65
Cost of Printing Tract No. 1	32.31
Author's Compensation	100.00
Total Disbursements	$ 835.08

Respectfully submitted,

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, *Chairman* — MAX B. MAY
HYMAN G. ENELOW — WILLIAM ROSENAU
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT — GEORGE ZEPIN
SAMUEL HIRSHBERG

The report was received and action on the recommendation was postponed pending the consideration of the Constitution and By-Laws.

The report of the Committee on Synagog Music was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Stern.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOG MUSIC

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

With the assistance of two competent judges, both musicians and composers, the present hymnal has been subjected to considerable study with the view of meeting much adverse criticism directed against the volume and of lending aid to rabbis in the selection of hymns for divine service and for exercises in the religious schools.

Much of the criticism directed against the hymnal is justified, but much of it is due to the element of novelty, to the absence of some favorite tunes and to the lack of thorough examination and acquaintance with the contents of the hymnal. True, it has its faults; but it also has its virtues; and a large portion of its music is good, commendable and suitable. These are in sufficient number to satisfy the needs of the most exacting congregation without embarrassment whatever. Some tunes are pitched a bit high and these an organist of any ability can transpose at sight, thus overcoming a difficulty and an objection so far at least as

synagog service itself is concerned. In another edition of the hymnal it may be well to have their key lowered. The purpose of the following analysis of our hymnal is to indicate for use the more acceptable hymns and thereby to assist the uninitiated in the selection of melodies for service.

Because of their historical and emotional association, the traditional settings stand in a class by themselves. So long as the volume be not overburdened therewith, their presence is an advantage rather than a detriment. Of the traditional settings, numbers 1, 2, 8, 55, 77, 85, 126, 141, 164, 168, 171, 189, 190, 202 and 225 are recommended for consideration. Number 186, the "El Nora Alilah" would be far more effective if shortened and set to stanzas of four lines so that the music text comprise only the first eight bars or, at the most, the first twelve bars of the present setting. In similar fashion other traditional melodies in the hymnal might be improved. As they are, some are too complex for the average congregation to sing at sight.

Another group of hymns that are in a class by themselves are those bearing the names of great and famous composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Rossini, Rubinstein, and Schumann. Their melodies are in the main beyond reproach. Four, however, numbers 17, 106 (2d tune), 148 and 158, are poor adaptations or unsuitable arrangements and should be avoided. There remain twenty-two, numbers 4, 8, 11, 16, 38, 47, 56, 63, 78, 80, 81, 87, 96, 97, 138, 140, 153, 166, 206, 208, 210 and 224, which are genuinely tuneful, dignified and eminently serviceable. To their number should also be added hymn 65 which without acknowledgment is taken from Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise".

The remaining hymns are of unequal merit and appeal. An attempt to group them according to musical values reveals the following:

A. Four are very good indeed; numbers 10, 14, 24 and 65.

B. Thirty are good and well worth while; numbers 7, 8 (1st tune, traditional), 12, 15, 19 (traditional), 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 35, 47 (1st tune), 51, 52, 62, 64, 66, 69, 93, 123, 139, 150, 151, 168 (traditional), 192, 194, 198, 199 and 201 (2d tune). Hymn 88, a Choral from the Hamburg Temple Hymnal, might find place in this group if rearranged by the removal of all holds which congregations never heed, by repeating the first two lines of music as now printed, making the transition through the dominent seventh of A-Flat, by rejecting the rest and by adding a different conclusion easily to be taken from the present context. With a little doctoring, other hymns might be raised in class.

C. A large group, fifty-three in number, is fairly good and, therefore, sincerely to be recommended. These are Numbers 31, 33,

37, 43, 44, 46, 50, 53, 71, 76, 79 (1st tune), 83, 84, 86, 89, 91, 94, 98, 99, 102, 106 (1st tune), 108, 110, 115, 116 (2d tune), 117, 118, 121, 125, 126, 129, 143, 147, 149, 152, 157, 160, 161, 163, 169, 170, 171 (traditional), 172, 184, 187, 191, 200 (2d tune), 211, 212, 214, 221, 222 and 223. Four, more, however, hymns 3, 120, 181 and 216 may perhaps be counted in this class.

D. All hymns, not otherwise mentioned by number in this analysis, are only fair and not always that. A special occasion, sermon or address to which their words are peculiarly appropriate lends the musical setting additional value for use.

E. Another large group of hymns, fifty-two in number, is musically unfit or very poor. It comprises hymns 17, 22, 27, 42, 45, 49, 57, 60, 61, 67, 90, 92, 101, 105, 106 (2d tune), 107, 109 (both tunes), 112, 113, 116 (1st tune), 119, 127, 131, 133, 135 (both tunes), 137, 148, 155, 156, 158, 159, 167, 173, 174, 176, 177, 180, 182, 183, 188, 196, 200, 205, 207, 209, 215, 218, 219 and 220.

In order that this tabulation be of service, it is recommended that by special reference in some subsequent letter addressed by the Secretary of the Conference to its members, the attention of Rabbis be directed to the above grouping.

One of the Cantors in New York City, a competent musician and a composer who has done creditable work in publishing synagog music and who is familiar with the laws of harmony and theory, offers his service free of charge to the Conference. On request either now or at some future time and subject to the will of the Conference through its Committee on Synagog Music, he is ready to undertake the revision of the hymnal if it be found desirable.

Respectfully submitted,

Nathan Stern, *Chairman* Simon Cohen
Abraham Holzberg Leonard J. Rothstein
Bernard Cantor

The report was received and, after being properly signed by a majority of the Committee, was adopted.

The report of the Committee on Systematic Jewish Theology was presented by the Chairman, Rabbi Schulman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SYSTEMATIC JEWISH THEOLOGY

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Committee on Systematic Theology, begs to say that it is again compelled to report progress. Only one essay has, thus far, been written for the volume of Theological Essays, in accordance with the plan adopted by the Conference at Frankfort, Michigan. This essay was written by Dr. Caesar Seligman, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and is now in the hands of the Chairman.

A communication was sent to ten other writers, to whom themes had been assigned, and which they had accepted, asking them to finish their work as soon as possible. To this communication, six of the writers replied. One of them suggested that the Conference discontinue the project of issuing a volume of Theological Essays. The other five assured the Chairman that they were under the impression that no fixed time had been set for the delivery of these essays. But that if they were assured that the Conference intends to continue this project, they will have their essays finished for the meeting of the Conference in 1918.

The Committee recommends that we continue the enterprise of issuing a volume of Essays, that writers be obtained for the remaining four essays, which are still unassigned, and that every effort be made to urge the writers to finish their work.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL SCHULMAN, *Chairman* JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF
WILLIAM H. FINESHRIBER MAURICE LEFKOVITS
KAUFMAN KOHLER DAVID PHILIPSON

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Committee on Revision of the Constitution and By-Laws was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Marcuson.

It was moved and carried that the present and revised constitution shall be read section by section and acted upon seriatim.

After much discussion, it was moved and carried that the further consideration of the constitution be made the special order of business for Monday morning at 10 o'clock. (P. 111.)

The Conference adjourned.

SUNDAY AFTERNOOON

The Conference reassembled at 2 o'clock.

The report of the Committee on Arbitration was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Berkowitz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ARBITRATION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The report of your Committee submitted last year (1916) at Wildwood, N. J., was by unanimous vote ordered printed in the Yearbook and also in separate pamphlet to be distributed among the members in order that they might have time and opportunity to give careful study to the proposals therein set forth. These instructions were faithfully carried out and as speedily after adjournment as was found possible. The pamphlet contained a request that criticisms and suggestions be sent in to the Chairman not later than March 15, 1917. This period was further extended in a later communication sent out by the Executive Board of the Conference. I am unable to account for the fact that of all the members of the Conference, apart from the Committee, only nine sent in replies. One favored the rejection of the whole report on the general principle that the existence of an Arbitration Committee might but encourage wranglings and that in regard to filling pulpit vacancies: "After all things move fairly well" and we may be inviting worse evils.

Of the others who replied all were heartily in favor of the proposals submitted, as being eminently worthy of a trial and as constituting the first clearly defined and practical steps aiming to conserve the dignity and standing of the ministry by providing accredited methods of arbitrating differences and also of serving the congregations in filling vacant pulpits as well as the rabbis in the delicate and difficult task of making transfers.

A number of the responses favored the separation of the two functions; namely, that of the Arbitration Committee to remain as at present, while a new Board should be instituted to fulfill the functions of the Bureau on Filling Pulpit Vacancies suggested by our report.

I beg leave to report further that as Chairman of the Arbitration Committee, I was appealed to during the past winter to take action in a matter of grievous misunderstanding between two rabbis, both members of this Conference. I conferred with the President of the Conference who suggested that owing to the wide geographical separa-

tion of the residences of the members of this Committee, as a matter of economy, a special sub-committee of three be appointed to meet at some convenient place to arbitrate the difficulty. The contestants consented to the Arbitrators I had named and agreed in advance to abide by such decision as might be reached in the case. A hearing at which I presided, was held in the city of Baltimore on the 11th of April, 1917, before Rabbis Rosenau, Lazaron and Rubenstein as Arbitrators. The contestants appeared at their own expense coming from separate communities. They presented both documentary and verbal testimony. The matters under dispute were freely and frankly considered during an earnest session of two hours. An amicable and satisfactory understanding was happily reached and the contestants concurred in the decision. A letter was then and there drawn up and addressed to the congregation interested. The men shook hands. We all lunched together and the two colleagues, who had met in bitterness, agreed to exchange pulpits before they separated. Two men whose hostility might have continued through life were through the agency of the Committee restored to friendship.

I This practical instance conclusively demonstrates the use and value of the Arbitration Committee. We, therefore, recommend that this Committee be continued as one of the permanent Committees of the Conference; that it be constituted as at present of seven members and be given authority to appoint from time to time such sub-committees as occasion may demand. We recommend the adoption of Article 5 in our last year's report, page 9, as follows:

The Arbitration Committee shall at all times be ready to lend its good offices in promoting the relations between rabbis and their congregations, or other constituencies. When called upon, the Committee shall act as mediator, to decide differences that may arise between congregations and rabbis, or between colleagues, and when, in the judgment of the members of the Committee, it may be found wise and useful to do so, shall actively proffer aid in preventing or in settling misunderstandings and contentions.

II We further recommend that a separate Committee be chosen to constitute a Bureau for Filling Pulpit Vacancies in accordance with the "plan proposed" in our previous report.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Chairman* SAMUEL KOCH
MAURICE H. HARRIS HARRY LEVI
SIGMUND HECHT MARTIN A. MEYER

The report was received and the recommendations considered seriatim.

Recommendation I was adopted.

Recommendation II was not adopted.

The report of the Committee on the Isaac M. Wise Centenary was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Krauskopf.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WISE CENTENARY CELEBRATION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: At the Wildwood Conference a year ago, your Committee on the Wise Centenary Celebration instituted inquiries among its members as to a fitting commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Isaac M. Wise. It enumerated the different suggestions made in reply to the inquiry—

(1) That a series of essays be presented during the anniversary week, setting forth the different achievements of Isaac M. Wise;

(2) That an Isaac M. Wise Endowment Fund be started:

(3) That a Wise dormitory be erected on the grounds of the Hebrew Union College;

(4) That an edition of all of Isaac M. Wise's works be issued, and a number of other similar suggestions.

Your Committee expressed its opinion that the achievments of Isaac M. Wise had been amply dwelt upon in recent years in various publications and in numerous addresses, and that owing to large collections being made for war sufferers abroad, the present time would be inauspicious for collecting sufficient funds for the erection of a suitable dormitory.

Your Committee was of the opinion that the life work of Isaac M. Wise was centered in the thought of uniting the activities of American Israel. To that end he organized the Union of American Hebrew Congregations: prepared the way for the Union Prayerbook; founded the Hebrew Union College; started the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and his highest ambition was to see the religious, educational, philanthropic and fraternal in American Israel federated under one central organization which ambition he might have realized had he been spared to us for a longer number of years.

Your Committee expressed its belief that it was the sacred duty of his disciples and followers to complete the work which the Master had left unfinished. It spoke of the efforts that had been made in that direction at the session of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in Philadelphia, in 1909, when, at the invitation of those in charge of the arrangements, representatives of eight different national organizations presented statements of the activities of their respective bodies. Your Committee recalled the following resolutions that were unanimously adopted at that convention:

1. "We recommend to the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that, in preparing the programs for the Council hereafter, definite time be set aside for a full consideration, in due order, of the work of the several agencies laboring to promote fraternity among our brethren; of those looking to the conservation of our religious interests, of such as aim to spread knowledge and foster Jewish scholarship; of our philanthropic enterprises; of those laboring to promote agriculture; of those engaged in the battle against the great 'White Plague'; of those co-ordinating the work of our women; of those guarding our civic and religious rights, and of such other movements as may, from time to time, arise.

   "We respectfully urge this widening of the scope of the Council's discussions with the express purpose that thereby practical methods may be derived for harmonizing and unifying all our national undertakings, thus to secure to them the strength that lies in united effort and the force and influence to be exercised in our country through co-operative endeavor in behalf of our common cause."

Even though these resolutions, though unanimously adopted, had been ignored in every Council that has since been held, your Committee recommended that another such representation of the different Jewish educational, philanthropic and fraternal organizations, as took place in Philadelphia in 1909, take place in Cincinnati in 1919, at the occasion of the Wise Centenary Celebration, and that, during the time intervening between now and then, steps be taken to effect a permanent union of these organizations, each to maintain its own autonomy, each to obtain and manage its own funds, and to administer its own affairs, yet each to be obliged to render an account of its activities to the representatives of American Israel at the biennial gatherings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, whatever be the shade of their religious belief.

Your Committee recommended that a committee of three representatives of each of the following bodies, Congregation B'nai Yeshurun, of Cincinnati, the Union of American Hebrew Congregation, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, be delegated to meet, and to work out a plan by which this program may be carried out at the Centenary Celebration of the birth of the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, March 29, 1919.

Although there has been much correspondence between the Chairman of your Committee and the various officers of the other organizations interested, your Committee has failed to secure an expression of opinion as to the manner in which the Wise Centenary is to be celebrated by the B'nai Yeshurun Congregation of Cincinnati

or by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and your Committee asks for instructions as to what course it is to pursue hereafter with a view of attaining the end sought by this body for a proper celebration of the Wise Centenary.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF, *Chairman* — WILLIAM ROSENAU
LOUIS GROSSMAN — ISAAC L. RYPINS
ISIDORE LEWINTHAL — SAMUEL SCHULMAN
DAVID PHILIPSON

It was moved and adopted that the Committee be continued and that the Committee be instructed to proceed with arrangements for the proper celebration of the Wise Centenary, and that the other organizations be invited to join in the plans which the Conference proposes to carry out.

It was moved and adopted that the action previously taken that the Conference join the National Federation of Religious Liberals be reconsidered. (See p. 79.)

Rabbi Heller—The argument advanced by those opposed to our joining this Federation is that we would thus estrange ourselves from our orthodox brethren. I do not see how, by announcing the fact that we represent liberal Judaism, we are guilty of an unbrotherly act or forfeit the sympathy of the orthodox. We stand for liberal Judaism and we should be as willing to stand for it as a Conference as we are as individuals.

Rabbi Simon—One objection advanced against our joining this Federation is that organizations belong which have all along refused to call themselves religious organizations. Surely if they are willing to join with religious liberals we should not be afraid to affiliate with such an organization.

Rabbi Harris—This is a critical moment when the forces of liberalism need endorsement. We have seen how in the past few weeks the forces that stand against liberalism have swept through the community of New York and on account of the numbers who attended press and community leaders dared not but endorse them. It is time for liberalism to come forward and present its claims.

Rabbi Cohon—I believe it would be a mesalliance for us to join this federation. Most harm that has come to Judaism has been through books written by liberals against Judaism, and the leaders in this movement are the authors of these books.

Rabbi Foster—The influence upon our people of such an affiliation cannot but be harmful. They will not make the fine distinctions which we make and will feel justified in affiliating themselves with any denominational organization.

Rabbi Berkowitz—This movement had its beginning among the Friends or Quakers, and the purpose was to try and win the attention and co-operation of all forward-looking men and women of all religions in order to unite in one strong endeavor to place religious liberalism before the world. We are asked to join with them, not to amalgamate; and each only gains in strength and individuality because it is there in contrast with the others. When the great day comes which, I believe, we are facing, when with the help of God all the "isms" that are sweeping people off their feet shall have passed away, I want the Jew to stand in the forefront of the liberal forces that are making for genuine religion.

Rabbi Harry H. Mayer—Is our Judaism so fragile a thing that it cannot stand our entering into fellowship with liberals? I have more confidence in liberal Judaism than that. I do not fear that Judaism will suffer if we accept the hand of fellowship which is held out to us. It is our duty not to stand outside.

It was moved and carried that the recommendation of the Executive Board "that the Conference become a member of the National Federation of Religious Liberals" be adopted. Ayes, 53; Nays, 40.

Rabbi Charles S. Levi—Does this action of the Conference in joining the Federation in any way commit Reform Judaism to this alliance?

The Chair—This action of the Conference in no way binds or obligates Reform Judaism.

The report of the Committee on Revision of the Union Prayerbook was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Philipson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVISION OF THE UNION PRAYERBOOK

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Revision of the Union Prayerbook accompanies this report with the manuscript of the revision of the first volume of the prayerbook.

Your Committee worked in accordance with the instructions given by the Conference to the effect that "the revision of the prayerbook shall be more than verbal, yet shall retain as far as possible the structure and the framework of the present book".

The Committee reported progress at the meeting of the Conference held at Wildwood last year. During the year which is now ending it has been industriously at work, has held a number of sessions of the whole Committee, while a sub-committee consisting of the Cincinnati members of the Committee on Revision, held many meetings. Much of the work was carried on by correspondence and every member of the Committee was given full opportunity to express his opinion on every point of the revision.

The Committee laid down for its guidance the following rules:

1. All responses and biblical quotations to follow the new Bible translation.

2. Larger provision for congregational participation in the service in the form of joint readings by minister and congregation. Thus, in the *Alenu* the words "We bow our head and bend our knee," are to be spoken by the minister and congregation. So also the prayer in the Sabbath morning service "May it be Thy will". The same holds with other prayers, as will appear upon examination of the manuscript.

3. The translation of יהוה by "Lord" instead of "Eternal".

4. All responsive readings to end with a response by the congregation.

5. The order of prayers to be uniform in all services. For example in the present book *reze* and *modim* follow the prayer for the day in the Sabbath Morning service, while they precede that prayer in the holiday services. In the revision they are made to follow the prayer for the day, as is the case in the Sabbath service.

6. Homogeneity to be provided for throughout the book; this rule to be made to apply not only to the rendering of the same English prayer in different services, but also in the matter of the Hebrew portions, for example, the Hebrew of *reze* and *modim* is in-

corporated in the Morning Holiday service of our prayerbook, but not in the Sabbath service; the Hebrew has therefore been inserted in the Sabbath service in the revision.

New portions have been included as follows:

Responsive readings and prayers for the evening and morning of the Sabbath during the Feasts of Passover and Tabernacles (*Shabbat ḥol Ha-moed*); for the Eve of the Sabbath preceding Purim (*Shabbat Zakor*); for the Eve of the Sabbath preceding the Day of Atonement (*Shabbat Shubah*) and for the Sabbath coincident with or preceding the Memorial Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem (*Tisha Beab*). A new pre-Kaddish prayer has been provided for the Holiday Evening and Morning Service. Meditations upon entering the House of Prayer have been provided for each service. A new and complete translation of the *Pirke Aboth* has been provided for the Sabbath Afternoon service.

In February last a communication in the form of a printed manuscript, embodying the revisions and changes made by the Committee was sent to all members of the Conference with the request that they examine the work done by the Committee and send in their criticisms and suggestions in time for the April meeting of the Committee. The thanks of the Committee are due to members who sent in such suggestions and criticisms, namely: Rabbis Berkowitz, Bettan, Bloom, Henry Cohen, Samuel S. Cohon, Freehof, Jacob Feuerlicht, Freund, Maurice H. Harris, Koch, Kornfeld, Landman, David Levy, Clifton H. Levy, Eli Mayer, Reinhart and Rothstein. Every suggestion and correction was given careful consideration and many were adopted.

A list of *Torah* readings and *Haftaroth* has been added. The Committee suggests that the full text of these passages be not printed as is the case in the present book. The Congregation should be encouraged to follow the *Torah* reading and the reading of the *Haftarah* in the new Bible translation, a copy of which should be in the hands of the worshipers.

Although we make no special mention of the work of the separate members of the Committee, we feel that the statement should be made here that the difficult task of making the selection of *Torah* and *Haftarah* readings has been performed by Rabbi Kohler.

The examination of the manuscript will reveal the fact that the present prayerbook has been subjected to a thorough revision, hundreds of changes having been made. The new prayers in the book were written for the most part by members of the Committee. Several were also contributed by Rabbis Berkowitz, Bettan, David Levy and Simon to whom the special thanks of the Committee are due. Rabbi Bettan also furnished the translation of the *Pirke Aboth*.

Your Committee hopes that its work will be found acceptable and awaits the pleasure of the Conference as to what shall be done with the manuscript herewith submitted.

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman* — J. MORGENSTERN
EDWARD N. CALISCH — WILLIAM ROSENAU
H. G. ENELOW — SAMUEL SCHULMAN
KAUFMAN KOHLER — JOSEPH STOLZ
I. E. MARCUSON

The report was received and adopted, and it was moved that the Executive Board be authorized to have manuscript printed in final form and sent to members for suggestions, all suggestions to be sent to the Committee within two months, after which the Revision Committee shall meet and proceed with the publication of the book. The motion was adopted.

It was further moved and adopted that the Revision Committee consider the advisability of including in the Revised Union Prayerbook the Special Weekday Service which was published a few years ago.

The Conference adjourned.

SUNDAY EVENING

The Conference re-assembled at 8:30 o'clock.

A paper on Love, Human and Divine, in Post-Biblical Literature was read by Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon (Appendix F).

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board consider the advisability of issuing reprints of the paper by Rabbi Cohon for distribution.

The report of the Commission on the Harmonization of Marriage and Divorce Laws was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Simon.

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAWS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Commission begs leave to report that

(a) It has altered its personnel with the approval of the

President. The members of the Commission are Rabbis Kaufman Kohler, Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Julius Rappaport, Samuel Schulman, Felix A. Levy, Joseph Stolz, Israel Bettan, Abba H. Silver, Samuel S. Cohon, Solomon B. Freehof, and Abram Simon.

(b) Realizing the importance and the time required for careful preparation of the thirteen different divisions of its report, your Commission notifies you of the substantial progress thus far made, and promises a comprehensive report at the next annual convention.

(c) At the request of the President of the Conference, the Chairman of the Commission appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House and Senate during the past year to consider the passage of a Bill looking towards more uniformity in the country with respect to Marriage and Divorce laws.

Respectfully submitted,

ABRAM SIMON, *Chairman*	JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH
ISRAEL BETTAN	FELIX A. LEVY
SAMUEL S. COHON	JULIUS RAPPAPORT
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF	SAMUEL SCHULMAN
KAUFMAN KOHLER	JOSEPH STOLZ

The report was received and adopted.

The report of the Special Commission on Jews of Other Lands was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Louis Grossman.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMISSION ON JEWS OF OTHER LANDS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: In view of the conditions caused by the World War, it has been impossible to establish correspondence, much less co-operation, with Jews and Jewish organizations in foreign lands. The work of your Committee must, therefore, be held in abeyance, until conditions change.

There is reason to expect that this Committee will have important work on hand just as soon as the stress of the war-conditions will have abated. In fact, there is a likelihood that then this Committee may have an historic opportunity to further and perhaps lead in the cause of re-enforced and constructive Jewish life through the moral influence of this Conference.

It may be that the function of this Committee which was, till now, merely one of investigation and tentative effort may enlarge into one of sympathetic co-operation with and helpful re-organization of the many Jewish communities distracted by the lamentable effects

of the war and under the pathetic necessity of rehabilitation. In this process of re-adjustment the spirit and efficiency of this Conference will undoubtedly enable this Committee to be of substantial service.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS GROSSMAN, *Chairman*	MAURICE H. HARRIS
JOEL BLAU	JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH
HENRY COHEN	ALEXANDER LYONS
SAMUEL S. COHON	CHARLES A. RUBENSTEIN
SAMUEL N. DEINARD	SAMUEL SCHWARTZ
GOTTHARD DEUTSCH	MARTIN ZIELONKA

The report was received and adopted.

The Special Commission on Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions reported progress.

The report of the Special Committee on Christian Missions to Jews was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Deutsch.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO JEWS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Chairman regrets to have to admit that he was unable to suggest tangible work in the task assigned to him. Cincinnati is not a favorable place for studying this question. The same subject engaged the attention of the then existing Board of Delegates of American Israelites in 1870, in a convention held at New York. Isaac M. Wise then declared humorously that he went out with a torchlight in his hand to look for missionary activities in Cincinnati, but could not find any. The matter has changed since. There is a mission to the Jews maintained in the section of the city largely inhabited by immigrant Jews. Its activities are very insignificant and its results, except in so far as they give employment to a converted Jew, are practically *nil.*

While under obligation to Rabbis Morris S. Lazaron and Eli Mayer for valuable material, which they furnished, the Chairman must regretfully state that most of the other members did not even reply to his communication. Under these conditions it is impossible for the Chairman to continue the work. He is of the opinion that the best way to deal with the subject is through local agencies of a social nature, especially through the Jewish Settlements. He received in this respect valuable information from a settlement worker

in Chicago. This information, as well as the data gathered by Rabbis Lazaron and Mayer, shows that conversion to Christianity is limited to poor fellows, unable to make a living, of whom a goodly number are imposters feeding on the credulity of bigoted Christians. No Jew could ever have been converted by the arguments presented in some of the Jewish pamphlets written for this occasion under such titles as "What is his son's name?" The only serious part of the whole movement is its baneful influence on Jewish family life, especially on the minds of the children who are lured from the homes of their parents by the unscrupulous hirelings of the missionary societies, who wish to make a showing of success for the support which they receive.

The undersigned Chairman repeats that the subject has to be studied locally and, in his opinion, such a study is worth while, especially in order to expose the character of these pretenders, who pose as religious enthusiasts, but are almost without exception hypocrites. He also must repeat that it is absolutely necessary to reconstruct the Committee, and he asks, in view of his manifold duties, that the work of this Committee, if it is to be continued, be placed in other hands. The Chairman desires to express his thanks to Rabbis Abels and Cohon for information and assistance in the work.

Respectfully submitted,

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, *Chairman*
MORRIS S. LAZARON
ELI MAYER

The report was received and referred to the Executive Board.

The Conference adjourned.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 2ND

The Conference convened at 9:30 o'clock.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Rudolph Grossman.

The Committee on Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents reported progress. It was moved and carried that the Committee on Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents be discontinued.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Deutsch.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

GENTLEMEN: The friends of Jewish literature in America mourn
I the death of Herman Rosenthal, who departed this life January 27, 1917. As a member of the editorial staff of the Jewish Encyclopedia, in which he supervised the important department of Russian history and literature, and by a large number of contributions on this subject, he has won for himself a lasting place in the rank and file of Jewish authors. He also was an enthusiastic communal worker, being among the promoters of the earliest attempts to establish Jewish agricultural colonies in America, and has in many other respects taken an active interest in Jewish affairs, both spiritual and material. Your Committee recommends that this convention record its appreciation of the work done by Herman Rosenthal, and convey this sentiment to the family of the deceased.

The nestor of Jewish authors, living at that time, passed away in
II Joseph Halevy, who died at Paris, February 2, 1917, in his ninetieth year. Halevy, who attained high rank in the field of Assyriology, began his literary activity as a writer of Hebrew poetry, and secured for himself a lasting place in the annals of Jewish history by the mission which he undertook to investigate the condition of the Falashas in Abyssinia which was the first case of this kind ever undertaken by Jews. During his long life he incessantly labored, not merely as a scholar but also as a communal worker, in the interest of the Jewish cause. Your Committee proposes that this Convention go on record and honor the memory of this teacher in Israel by the expression of its admiration for the many-sided activity, which marks the long life of Joseph Halevy, and convey these sentiments to the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, with the request that they transmit them to the family of the deceased.

Ferdinand Labori, the valiant defender of Alfred Dreyfus in
III the trial which presents both a sad recollection and a triumph of justice in Jewish history, died at Paris, March 14, 1917. While not of our people, M. Labori has written his name large in the annals of Jewish history. He literally staked his life in the defense of justice against calumny which, under the pretext of an attack on an individual, meant to disgrace the name of Israel. Your Committee, therefore, believes that a record of grateful remembrance is due to this noble champion of Israel's cause, and suggests that this sentiment be recorded in the minutes of this convention and be conveyed to the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* with the request that they transmit it to the proper parties.

American Israel mourns the death of an artist of international
IV fame. Moses Ezekiel, the illustrious sculptor, died at Rome,

March 27, 1917, in his seventy-third year. This body remembers with pride that his genius served the cause of Judaism by the statue of Religious Liberty placed in Philadelphia as the gift of a Jewish organization, by the bust of the immortal founder of this Conference, by many works which grace Jewish cemeteries, or which, as the statue of Jefferson in Louisville, commemorate the patriotism and the generosity of our coreligionists. We honor in him an American patriot and a loyal son of Israel who, as an Italian paper said at the time of his death, "was justly proud of the privilege of professing his sacred faith". Your Committee proposes that this convention go on record expressing its sincere grief at the loss sustained by American Israel in the death of Moses Ezekiel, and that these sentiments be conveyed to the family of the deceased.

V The irregularity of mail service in responsible for the lack of information as to the exact date of death of the following prominent representatives of Jewish literature. Simon Frug, the celebrated Yiddish poet; Rabbi Joseph Eschelbacher of Berlin, author of a valuable work on apologetics; Baer Ratner of Wilna, who did valuable work for the much desired correction of the text of the Talmud of Jerusalem; Moses Samuel Zuckermandel of Breslau, who did similar work for the text of the Tosefta and Martin Philippson, the historian of whose activity this Conference expressed its appreciation in last year's convention, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Your Committee proposes that this convention express its sincere grief at the loss which the cause of Israel sustained in the death of these men.

VI Professor Hermann L. Strack of Berlin, a noble friend of Israel, a true representative of the חסידי אומות העולם will celebrate his seventieth birthday May 6, 1918. Hermann L. Strack has earned the gratitude of every student of biblical and rabbinic literature by his indefatigable activity as an author. He has earned our admiration by the exactness and methodic skill which distinguishes all his works, whether they deal with Hebrew grammar, with *Masorah*, with Talmudic literature, or with such details of our liturgy as the *Kol Nidre*. It may truly be said that since the time of the Buxtorfs, few Christian scholars have ever mastered rabbinic literature as completely as has Hermann L. Strack. Your Committee considers it a duty and a privilege to record particularly its admiration for the noble and self-sacrificing work that Hermann L. Strack has done in refuting the malicious charges of blood ritual and other calumniations of the good name of Israel.

VII Ludwig Geiger will complete his seventieth year, June 4, 1918. As a prolific writer on Jewish history, Ludwig Geiger began his career with a doctor dissertation on a subject of Jewish interest. He furnished us, as a young man, a valuable history of the

Jews of Berlin, and he has ever since labored untiringly in the field of Jewish literature, especially elucidating the relations between Jews and prominent German authors, as well as the participation of Jews in German literature. He also has been for a decade, editor of "*Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*", the oldest Jewish periodical in existence, and has taken active part in Jewish communal life. As the son of Abraham Geiger, the great theologian of the reform movement, Ludwig Geiger's name has a hallowed sound for American Judaism. Your Committee proposes that the sentiments of this Conference expressing our admiration for the work done by this noble scholar and champion of the cause of Israel, be entered upon our minutes.

VIII The future of Palestine has become a matter of more active and general interest in the last few months. Christians of high standing in public life and in the world of letters, and prominent Jews in this country have expressed their belief that a development of Palestine is of great importance to Israel's future. Without touching upon a question on which this Conference once voted adversely and which still is subject to a difference of opinion, it may be anticipated that the members of this Conference are united in a sentiment of historic veneration for the cradle of Israel's history, and that they are alive to the necessity of raising the moral, intellectual, and economic standards of the Jews of Palestine. Your Committee is of the opinion that the end of the present terrible war is bound to bring about a complete change in the condition of Palestine, and therefore proposes that this Conference express its sympathy with all cultural movements affecting Palestine, without committing itself to the political and national aspects of the question and that the Committee on Jews of Other Lands be directed to consider this question as soon as normal conditions shall render it possible to propose tangible action.

IX The most important event in the history of Israel that took place since our Convention met last, and perhaps the most important event in Israel's history, since the National Assembly of France in 1791 gave to the Jews full equality with their fellow-citizens, is the Russian revolution. While at present our hope to see the freedom won by the new Russian Republic lastingly established, is marred by the chaotic state of affairs in that country, we confidently hope that the sufferings of our brethren in this land of persecution are finally ended. Five to six millions of our brethren kept in bondage for over a century were liberated by a law passed April 4, 1917. Your Committee recommends (a) that a committee of three be appointed by the Executive Board to express the joy of this Conference at the deliverance of our brethren in a message to be sent to Prof. Boris Bakhmeteff, Chairman of the Special Russian

Commission to the United States, and (b) that this Conference vote a contribution to the fund to purchase a replica of the Statue of Liberty which is to be sent as a gift of the people of the United States to the sister republic of Russia.

X A remark made in the Senate of the United States in the course of the debate of the new immigration bill, that the Jews are an undesirable element, suggests that the material pertaining to a defense of the Jews against unjust attacks be collected in a handy form and placed in the hands of authors, statesmen, publicists and Jewish communal workers. Such a presentation shall be as concise as possible, presenting a summary of current accusations against the Jews, and shall give in each case, by figures and brief facts, the refutation of these charges. Your Committee proposes that the Executive Board be requested to consider this point in preparing a program for the next convention.

XI The West London Synagog of British Jews opened its first house of prayer January 27, 1842. This event marked an epoch in the Reform Movement among English-speaking Jews and was a powerful factor in stimulating the Reform Movement in the United States, which had begun shortly before. Your Committee is of the opinion that the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of this pioneer reform congregation of England is of sufficient importance to justify that a message of fraternal greetings be sent to this congregation expressing our best wishes for its future welfare and progress.

XII The oldest organized reform congregation in Judaism, the Temple of Hamburg will celebrate the centenary of its opening on October 18, 1918. The century which has since elapsed marked an epoch in Judaism, more eventful perhaps than any other century in our history. Your Committee suggests that a paper on the importance of this event be presented to the next Convention.

Respectfully submitted,

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, *Chairman* — MEYER LOVITCH
CHARLES J. FREUND — *CHARLES A. RUBENSTEIN
ISIDORE LEWINTHAL — JACOB D. SCHWARZ

The report was received and the recommendations were taken up seriatim.

Recommendations I-VII were adopted as amended.

Recommendation VIII was read and action thereon deferred until the Committee on President's Message had reported when it was adopted as amended.

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*Rabbi Rubenstein objected to the inclusion of Recommendation X.

Recommendation IX (a) was adopted as amended.

(b) was referred to the Executive Board with favorable recommendation. Ayes 34, Nays 20.

Recommendation X was referred to the Executive Board as amended.

Recommendations XI and XII were adopted as amended.

The hour for the consideration of the revised constitution which had been set as the special order of business having arrived, the discussion thereof was resumed.

It was moved and carried that the consideration of the report of the Committee on Model Constitution for Congregations which had been set for Monday morning be made the special order of business for Tuesday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

Final action on the revised constitution was postponed until Tuesday morning.

The Conference adjourned.

Monday Afternoon

The Conference re-convened at 2 o'clock.

A paper on Freedom of the Will in Talmudic Literature was read by Rabbi Louis L. Mann (Appendix G).

The Conference then adjourned.

Tuesday Morning, July 3rd

The Conference convened at 9:45 o'clock.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Isador E. Philo.

It was moved and adopted that the revised Constitution, with such verbal changes as were suggested and such amendments as were introduced, be referred back to the Revision Committee to report at the next meeting of the Conference.

The reports of the Committee on Synagog Music and of the Committee on Responsa, action on which had been delayed until the reports were properly signed, were adopted.

The report of the Committee on Synagog and Industrial Relations was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Lyons.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOG AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Synagog and Industrial Relations begs to report as follows:

We are pleased to work along the line of endeavor of previous Committees on our problem. We believe firmly in the desirability of strengthening and widening the influence of the synagog in relation to matters affecting industrial harmony between employers and employed. To that end we would reaffirm or recommend as follows:

I That the pulpit emphasize whenever appropriate the urgency of a due regard for the demands of justice and humanity on the part of employer and employed to the end of the maintenance of more mutually helpful and happy industrial relations.

II That the pulpit should not discuss industrial problems in merely platitudinous generalities, but should speak specifically and from the background of authoritative knowledge where such pronouncement is clearly in the interest of moral realizations.

III As corollary to No. II we recommend that the Central Conference should through a proper Committee issue from time to time to its members recommendations on problems relating to Synagog and Industrial Relations that might serve as guidance for those who may desire and need such authoritative information.

IV That it would be a desirable thing for occasional meetings to be held by our several congregations when industrial problems with special reference to their moral implications should be considered and resolutions adopted to serve as a basis for proper exploitation of the matter on the part of our pulpits and as a means of spreading conviction of the interest of the Synagog in these problems.

V That in the interest of bringing employer and employed into closer relationships, it would be very desirable so to democratize the Synagog as to make it possible for an employee of moderate means to enter into congregational membership thus to be permitted in an important direction to stand on a level and co-operate with his more wealthy employer and thus promote mutual respect. The membership and management of our congregations were better placed upon the basis of willingness to serve than merely or principally, as is too extensively the case, upon a monetary foundation.

VI That the Synagog should originate where possible and where not should enforce all agencies of cultural and other uplift in behalf of Jewish employees who may need such co-operation and opportunity.

VII We deem advisable the general introduction of Sunday morning meetings or services supplementary to the Sabbath services as a special opportunity to be brought to the attention and interest of the laboring classes who are at present prevented from attending services on the historic Sabbath, as a means of instructing them along Jewish lines as well as of convincing them of the interest of the Synagog in their behalf.

Respectfully submitted,

ALEXANDER LYONS, *Chairman*	RAPHAEL P. GOLDENSTEIN
MOSES J. S. ABELS	HARRY S. LEWIS
HENRY COHEN	MAX RAISIN
ABRAHAM CRONBACH	LOUIS WITT

The report was received and the recommendations were considered seriatim.

After discussing the first recommendation, it was moved and carried that the previous action be reconsidered.

It was moved that the report be referred back to the Committee for further consideration. The motion was adopted.

The report of the Commission on Social Justice was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Wolf.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Commission on Social Justice submits the following report. At a meeting of a sub-committee of the Commission held in New York City, a platform of social principles was drawn up and signed by all the members of the sub-committee. This platform was receiving final revision for submission to the other members of the Commission when our country was plunged into war.

It is the sense of your Commission that war is bringing about such vast social changes that the publication of a report from your Commission at this time would not only fail of attention, but would also be premature in the light of the new social conditions which will present themselves at the end of the war. The demand for social justice can then be more clearly enunciated and will be more readily heard. For these reasons your Commission on Social Justice merely reports progress this year.

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE J. WOLF, *Chairman*	A. S. ISAACS
RUDOLPH I. COFFEE	ISAAC L. RYPINS
HARVEY B. FRANKLIN	SAMUEL SCHULMAN
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON	

The report was adopted.

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board consider the advisability of combining the Commission on Social Justice and the Committee on Synagog and Industrial Relations and that the instructions given to the Commission on Social Justice (Yearbook, Vol. XXV, p. 103), "that the Commission on Social Justice be instructed to draw up a preamble and declaration of principles, defining the attitude of this Conference on the great social questions of the day; and that this declaration shall be sent to each member of the Conference at least two months before the meeting of the Conference at which this declaration shall be brought up for consideration" shall be submitted to the new Committee to be carried out.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was taken up for further consideration. (See p. 107.)

The report of the Committee on Model Constitution for Congregations was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Witt.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MODEL CONSTITUTION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Model Constitution wishes at the outset to make clear its status. Last year at the Wildwood Conference, this Committee submitted a report. The Conference felt that the report required careful and considerable debate which, with a crowded program, it could not undertake. It therefore made the following disposition of the report: that it be received; that it be printed in the Yearbook; that a whole session be set aside at the succeeding Conference for the consideration thereof; that the Committee be continued; and that the Executive Board be instructed to make request of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations that place be made on the program of its forthcoming biennial convention for a paper on A Model Constitution for Congregations. The report of last year is, therefore, according to parliamentary procedure, now before the Conference for action. However, at the last Conference there seemed to be an unexpressed feeling of uncertain area that the report was an undeserved indictment of the administrative policies of our congregations. The question is, of course, in the highest degree, germane. If the report is a statement of fact then does the need for reform become altogether indubitable and im-

perative. Nevertheless one may dissent from much of the matter and manner of the report and yet concur in its recommendation of principles. Lest, therefore, the debate be diverted from the paramount issues, your Committee is willing, for the present, to waive altogether the question as to whether the report is or is not a fair statement of fact. If it has succeeded in rousing the Conference to the urgency of a most earnest consideration of the basic law of congregational administration in its moral expressions, it has, to that extent, at least, accomplished its object. The Conference has in no sense, committed itself either for or against the report, and may therefore be disposed to leave it simply as a document printed in the Yearbook, on which, by explicit statement, it has neither held debate nor taken action, and grant to the Committee the privilege of substituting the present report which, be it understood, deviates in no sense from the other in its declaration of principles.

The very first step must be to come to an agreement on the premise. What is the essential nature of a constitution for congregations? Is a constitution merely a business code, containing rules of order, titles and duties of officers, items of salary and revenue, articles on legal rights in synagog and cemetery? If this be the view of the Conference, then this Committee should never have been appointed, and it should, without further waste of time, be discharged. Is a constitution, on the other hand, a moral document: is it *applied* Jewish idealism; is it the reduction to parchment of those lofty principles of our prophets and sages, that all are equal before God, that men should give in the ratio of their blessing, that God looks not to the outer appearance but to the heart, that the worth of a sanctuary lies not in its gilded pretentiousness but in the loftiness of its spiritual appeal, the inclusiveness of its spiritual following? If this be the essential nature of a constitution, then must this Conference be unresting in its endeavor to lift the constitution of the American synagog up to the level of the best and the highest in Judaism. Your Committee cannot but regard as incontestable the premise that a constitution for congregations is primarily a spiritual charter in which all items of procedure, revenue, and property, must be subordinated to, and be made conformable to the religious aspiration that gives to it hallowing and being.

Here is a concrete occurrence, taken from life, that may serve to illustrate how the organic law of a congregation may reflect, or rather deflect, the ideals of our faith. There is a certain family in which there are a mother and four daughters. The five women sincerely enjoy divine service on the Sabbath. However, the master of the household pays only $5.00 a month to the Temple and is therefore only a "contributing member", without vote, and entitled to only two seats. For many months only two of the family attend divine serv-

ice out of a feeling that they are legally entitled to no more than two seats. However, they notice that during all these months the remaining portion of the pew in which they sit is vacant. The five therefore decide one Sabbath morning to enjoy the privilege of worship. Unfortunately it is just the Sabbath on which the absentee landlords of the pew show up to recite the Kaddish. Their faces show that they resent this flagrant violation of their property rights. Three of the five innocent usurpers rise on the instant with a murmured apology and in the hurry of their embarrassment—for many eyes are on them—seek the shelter of the nearest vacant pew. Unfortunately again, it is the pew of regular worshippers who now make their appearance and, with painful effort not to wound the feelings, venture the information that it is their pew. The three women again arise, and this time, with flushed cheeks, leave the Temple. Henceforth only two of the family worship on the Sabbath, and yet that particular Temple is invariably two-thirds empty on the Sabbath!

Here is another concrete example. It is Yom Kippur Eve. The rabbi is leaving his study in the Temple in order to enter the pulpit. A woman comes running to him with flaring indignation in her face. He recognizes her as a member of his congregation, in humble circumstances, known for her tender ministrations to the sick and dying, and an unfailing attendant at divine service. She cries out in a voice choked with wrath and tears that she will not worship in the Temple even on that sacred night unless she is given another sitting; that the Board has again assigned her seats in the very front row (in that particular Temple the front rows are the most uncomfortable, owing to the extreme slant of the floor and are, therefore, assigned to the class that pays the lowest dues); that she has sat in that row for years; that her son will not sit there any longer; that every time he stands up he feels like a pauper, with the eyes of the congregation on him; that . . . At this point the storm of words is interrupted by the president of the congregation who has followed the woman and who now tries to appease her by explaining that he is very sorry but he has done the best he could and he has to be guided by the constitution. . . . Again there is an interruption, this time by the woman's son who in undisguised anger seizes his mother peremptorily by the arm and half-leads, half-drags her from the Temple. The prelude of the organ has already ceased; the rabbi hastens to the pulpit. He cannot, however, rid himself of the scene he has just witnessed. He cannot but feel that the face of God is somehow turned from the brilliance and splendor before him, turned toward a humble home where a pious soul that has found no room in the Temple is crying to Him out of the depths!

Another actual occurrence. A rabbi is on his way to the annual meeting of the congregation. He meets a young man who is second to none in the community in his activity in behalf of the Bnai Brith lodge, the Jewish charities, the propaganda for a Y. M. H. A. which is then on foot. . . . altogether a young man of generous enthusiasm but moderate means. The rabbi asks him whether he is going to the annual meeting, and is surprised to receive an answer in the negative. The young man explains that he pays all the dues he can afford to pay, but is not entitled to be in the voting class, and since, if he goes to the meeting, he must be, as he put it, dumb, he might just as well stay away and be deaf also. The rabbi and the young man part at the door of the Temple. There is no quorum when the rabbi arrives. There continues to be no quorum. Finally an officer is appointed to stand at the door of the Temple to commandeer enough members who happen to be passing to make a quorum. And yet because of a commercial rating, an intelligent and earnest young man, out of self-respect, was moved to exclude himself from that meeting!

Just one more instance from the annual message of the president of a very large congregation. He reports that there are still quite a number of sittings vacant in the higher classes, and he begs those who can possibly afford it to improve their membership so as to give the other sittings to those who are anxious to join the congregation, but cannot afford the higher-priced sittings. A most anomalous situation! Jews are anxious to join a House of God, but cannot for lack of room and yet there are still quite a number of sittings vacant in that House of God!

Conceding, now, that a constitution is a moral document, what is the root of the opposition to making it also a model document? Why should any one dispute the proposition—so completely is it conformable to our highest ideals—that in a sanctuary there should be no distinction between the pew of the rich and the pew of the poor, that men should be asked to pay dues according to the measure with which God has blessed them without insisting on exclusive privileges and property rights in return; that the gates of membership should be opened as wide as possible with as much emphasis as possible laid on loyalty and devotion as a criterion of inclusion! The opposition may be traced first to the bias that springs from habit and custom, the bias that argues that because a thing is, it is good, the bias that is the law of inertia operating in the spiritual realm and that is so much the less amenable to reason because it operates in the subconscious. Such opposition does not stop to argue; it does not want to argue; "convinced against its will, it is of the same opinion still." It lays the entire burden of proof on those who would change upward the constitution of the American synagog.

It sits back like a judge or jury and demands a plenitude of indisputable testimony which it is all the time disputing. It says: the constitution we have is good—prove to us that yours is better. It even says: the constitution we have is good enough—we need no better. The overcoming of this mental resistance rooted in habit will be the hardest task confronting this Conference, should it decide in favor of this report.

Secondly, the opposition hinges on the question of feasibility. Granting the ideals, can they be made to work? Certainly a most crucial question! What more cogent answer could your Committee give than by citing facts in proof that these ideals are working. Herewith are submitted signed statements from various rabbis in whose congregations these ideals are in successful operation. We omit the Free Synagog of New York because it might be argued that that synagog operates under conditions that could not be duplicated by the average congregation.

From Rabbis Leo M. Franklin of Detroit: "Our unassigned seating system, introduced in the Temple somewhat over twelve years ago, has proved to be an unqualified success. The system makes for the democratization of the synagog, and it does away with the rich man's corner and the poor man's corner in the House of God. We find that our per capita income from members is really larger under this system than under the old pew-assignment system, even though the contributions are more or less voluntary on the part of the members. When a man applies for membership in our congregation he states what he is willing to pay as his annual due. This may be accepted or rejected by the Board of Directors, but once accepted, the man who pays the least amount is on a plane of absolute equality with the one who pays the highest amount. It will interest you to know that the contributions for full membership range in our congregation from thirty to three hundred dollars a year. For the holy days we issue cards stating that the member holding same is entitled to sittings for himself and family, but no assignment of pews is made to any one."

From Rabbi Frederick Cohn, Omaha, Nebraska: "We have the unassigned pew-system since the fall of 1913. It seems to be working out all right. We lost two of our prominent members as the result of its adoption, who would not reconcile themselves to the action of the majority. There was some slumbering opposition at first, but it did not come to the fore, and for the last three years, the plan has been working well. We have no seats to sell in our Temple, have not had since 1908. When we entered our new (the present) Temple, we merely assigned seats, but since 1913, the seats are not even assigned. First come, first served. A member joins the congregation and pays what he can afford (we have no fixed

dues, the assessment is voluntary, or at least agreed upon); and then he is at liberty to take whatever seat he pleases. On Holy Days the auditorium is reserved for ten or fifteen minutes after the time of opening of service for the members (but no individual seats for individual members), and after that non-members are welcome to whatever seat they may find. We have not for years sold any seats to non-members for the Holy Days. If a person cannot afford to belong to the congregation, or does not belong for whatever reason, and wishes a seat, he is given one free, subject only to the above-named restriction. Our dues are from $30.00 to $300.00. Single men and widows may pay as low as $12.00. But all have equal rights, equal voting privileges, and absolute equality as to seating."

From Rabbi Alfred Moses, Mobile, Ala.: "Congregation Shaarai Shomayim three years ago took up the discussion of radical changes in our Constitution so as to harmonize it with the more democratic leanings of the times. The older system of forced assessment and purchased pews had become objectionable to many members. The subject was carefully considered for two years and little opposition was made when the 'New Plan' was finally adopted. I am pleased to state that the new method has so far worked very successfully. The congregation has had no difficulty in securing finances and the entire membership is better satisfied. We will never return to the older plan. The present method may be summed up as follows:

(1) All persons are eligible. We now have women members who attend meetings and vote.
(2) Contributions are determined by each person unless there is a flagrant effort to avoid reasonable self-taxation.
(3) Each family is assigned as many seats as are required. In this way, families are kept together.
(4) In case of special needs, an extra assessment is levied pro rata on each member.
(5) The list of contributions is open to the inspection of each member.

The whole plan is in keeping with the present policy to make the Temple open the year around and the place of service to Judaism and humanity."

From Rabbi Louis Witt, Little Rock, Ark.: "About five years ago a special meeting of the Congregation was called to consider the following propositions: (1) the abolition of any fixed minimum due as a condition of membership; (2) the repeal of the law barring members paying under $2.50 a month from the right to vote; (3) the introduction of the system of unassigned pews. No. 1 carried in amended form providing for a minimum due as low as $1.00 a month as a condition of full membership. No. 2 carried, thereby enfranchising the entire membership. No. 3, out of deference to old

and respected members, was indefinitely postponed. The seed had, however, been planted and ripened about a year later when the Board of Trustees, composed of the very men in deference to whom the unassigned pew proposition had been postponed, by unanimous vote and of its own initiative put the unassigned pew in operation in the Temple, excluding only Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. It was felt that the exception of these Holy Days was necessitated and justified by virtue of the fact that the main floor of the Temple has only 440 seats, while the congregation has 300 members. By this compromise, however, seats were made free and unassigned every Sabbath and every holiday but two in the entire year. The new policy, for a while one of the features, is now one of the fixtures of the congregation. Dues have twice been raised under the new policy and in not a single instance has there been a demand for additional or special privileges in consideration of the increase in assessment. There is no thought of going back to the old system, and a new Temple—a movement for which is on foot—would mean the unassigned pew for every divine service without exception."

From Rabbi Morris Newfield, Birmingham, Ala.: Temple Emanu-El of Birmingham, Ala., is carrying out the principle of the so-called Free Synagog to a fuller extent than, perhaps, any other Jewish Congregation.

No sex distinctions exist as to membership. Any Jew or Jewess of legal age, upon the payment of an annual contribution, may become a member. Contributions are self-assessed with the limitation of a minimum of $18.00 per annum.

Membership confers the right of voice and vote as well as that of holding office. It does not entitle to any specially assigned sittings, however. No seats are assigned or held in reserve. The ushers use their judgment in conducting members or visitors to seats. Everybody is welcome in the House of God. From this principle there is no departure even during the Holy Days.

This liberal democratic system has been in operation since 1912 and was from the very first met with hearty approval by the congregation.

Revenues have not decreased thereby. Even prior to the introduction of this system Temple Emanu-El made no special assessments for seats assigned to members and their families. Non-members never could rent seats at all, while they were welcome as guests or visitors to occupy any vacant seat.

On the question of the participation of women in the affairs of the congregation, Rabbi Wolf of Rochester, N. Y., writes: "In 1911, Congregation Berith Kodesh of Rochester, N. Y., conferred the right to vote and to hold office upon the wives of members owning

two or more seats, the same privileges were extended to women owning seats in their own names. This innovation resulted in increased interest on the part of the women in the affairs of the congregation; at the present writing, two of the most efficient members of the Board of Trustees are women."

These testimonials speak for themselves. They prove that the democratic ideal in congregational administration is no longer a mere dubious experiment, a topic for debate, but a solid fact, in undisputed and satisfactory operation in some congregations, large and small, and on the way to become so in others. Memphis, for instance, reports a referendum on the unassigned pew. One colleague writes of strong, albeit unsuccessful, pressure brought to bear on his congregation a few years ago to adopt the unassigned pew. A young colleague writing from a large congregation in a letter dated November, 1916, says: "I have hopes that with the Board entirely in favor of the whole free synagog idea, as announced by the President at the last annual meeting, we may in time bring the congregation around to a real democracy in the synagog." And a number of letters of inquiry from various rabbis were received by your Chairman as to the operation of the open Temple plan.

In connection with the question of feasibility, is the sub-question as to whether there will not be a serious reduction in revenue as the result of the adoption of the model constitution. This seems to be an almost insuperable fear. Will the man who gives a hundred or a thousand dollars for a private pew give in proportion to the needs of the budget without any *quid pro quo* other than the common right to worship and to the religious education of his children? If there really were valid reasons to entertain such a fear, it would indicate a most shocking commercialism in the synagog. The real slanderer of the synagog is not he who indicts, be it ever so severely, many features of its administrative policy with a view of perfecting it, but he who assumes that the average Jew will not contribute to it in proportion to his wealth unless he is given a front seat and a proprietary claim on that seat forever. It is true that the average Jew has hitherto enjoyed legal ownership of a seat whose location was conditioned on the size of his contribution. That is, however, due to the system under which congregations are operating. Where others enjoy exclusive privileges, because they pay for them, why not he? Some there are, no doubt, who prefer such a system in perpetuity. Snobs will be snobs even in the synagog. Some there are, also, who because of force of habit, will require a little time and persuasion to be weaned away from the old system. Under a system, however, that permits exclusive privileges to none, the average Jew will contribute his proportional assessment for the sake of the holiness of the cause—*leshem shamayim*. He is doing it for

the poor—why not for his God? As a matter of fact a number of the congregations that have the unassigned pew have, in the last two or three years, increased their assessments or revenue, with as little complaining on the part of the people as there could be under any system, considering that there always were and always will be complaining people. The Jew who has given religion to the world—does he require artificial and aristocratic inducements in order that he might contribute generously to his own religion? He will not fail the synagog in its need—even though that need be great and growing—his Judaism is still vital enough for that, the God of his fathers is still close enough to him for that—it is we rabbis who must sound the call and take the lead.

For the time is opportune for the revision of the constitution of the American synagog. In reply to a request for a copy of the constitution, a number of congregations replied that they could not comply as their constitution was undergoing a process of revision and was in the hands either of a committee or the printer. Other congregations sent copies of constitutions bearing dates of revision later than 1910. One or two sent copies in galley form. A number of rabbis have written to your Committee for a copy of the Model Constitution under the impression that it had already been issued. One rabbi presiding over one of the largest congregations in the Middle West told your Chairman that he had persuaded his congregation which was about to revise its constitution to wait on the formulation of the Model Constitution by the Conference Committee. Another rabbi at the head of one of the largest congregations in the East writes to your Chairman under the date of February 21, 1917:

> "Thank you for sending me the information requested (relative to a larger participation of women in congregational affairs). I was deeply interested in your paper read before the Conference. Some of your suggestions are already in effect in my congregation. Some are not, I wish they were. We are now considering the advisability of admitting women to the Board, although there is considerable objection on the part of some of the members. I have urged practically every feature you recommended and am creating sentiment in favor of those which I have not yet succeeded in introducing. Congregations are conservative institutions and we must be content to make haste slowly."

It is inevitable that the constitution of the American synagog should undergo revision. It was adopted, in the main, half a century ago. The last fifty years have created a new heaven and earth for the Jew of America. The problem of accommodating three million rather than a few thousand Jews, the problem of amalgamating the Russian and the German Jew, the problem of bridging accentuated misunderstandings between rich and poor Jew, the problem of the

rights of the Jewess in this era of women's emancipation, the problem of the adjustments resulting from the extension of democracy in general, these problems require that the administrative policies of the American synagog must change in this era of change. They are changing. The process is, however, more or less haphazard. A congregation does the best it can by itself or, by virtue of accidental information, imitates some sister-congregation. What is needed is some centralizing agency that will give initiative, impetus and orderliness to the change that is going on all about us so as to turn it altogether in the direction of the highest traditions and ideals of our faith. For the Conference this need is a challenge, an opportunity, a duty. The individual rabbi is handicapped. Again and again in his pleading for the open Temple he is met by the argument which is really no argument, but which is powerful enough to overcome all argument: "Why should we be the first to undertake such untried reforms?—Why should not what is good enough for other congregations be good enough for us?—Why should our rabbi be the only one to agitate such radical measures?—If they are as noble and workable as he contends, why do not the other rabbis contend for them?" For the average man is impressed more by precedent and numbers than he is by the processes of reason. Against the argument from precedent and convention, exhortation and logic often batter in vain. The endorsement of the Conference will give to the individual rabbi the confidence, and the impressiveness of numbers, the backing of the collective wisdom of his colleagues, and this means that within the next decade the ideals of the model constitution will become the organic law of a majority of the congregations of the country.

It has been contended that any such centralizing endeavor will be an infringement on the autonomy of the individual congregation. But surely autonomy does not mean isolation. The individual congregation cannot but look to the Conference for light and leading. If a constitution deals with vital, spiritual matters, there must be an inferior and a better way of dealing with such matters. Many congregations are indeed groping for this better way. For they are revising their constitutions and in the process need and want advice. They confess their need and want by writing to other congregations and to this Committee for advice. Is it an infringement of autonomy when the Union offers a congregation a text-book for its religious school, or, with the congregation's consent, imposes a per capita tax upon it for operating expenses? Is it an infringement of autonomy when the Conference offers a congregation a prayerbook for its mode of worship or establishes a committee to settle differences between congregation and rabbi? The rabbis offer to a

congregation a constitution in the form of a recommendation; they cannot do more, but they surely ought not do less. The congregation reserves the right of decision, but it surely concedes the right of recommendation. Where there is only moral persuasion on the one side and unrestricted freedom of decision on the other, how can there be an invasion of the status of autonomy? There is none intended; there is none in fact.

Let it also be distinctly understood that it is not to be expected that every congregation will or could adopt, at the very outset, the model constitution that may be recommended by this Conference. Some congregations will be confronted by formidable legal obstacles—for their pews have become private property. Others will be so inveterately aristocratic in temper and habit that they will require a gradual process of evolution to change. However, the majority of the congregations are in the position to change and with proper leadership would change. With a zealous persuasive propaganda on the part of the Conference, there would be no less than 50 congregations living under the new constitution in the next five years. But surely it is not a question of 50 or 15 congregations, of 5 or 25 years! The facts are these: that some congregations are already living under the more ideal charter, that others are willing to do so, that still others could be persuaded to do so, and we may look with confidence to the future to deal with those that are neither willing nor can be persuaded to do so.

Your Committee has made no effort to draft a complete model constitution for this Conference. It was feared that such a complete presentation might invite debate on matters that are quite inconsequential and more or less common to every constitution, to the detriment or further postponement of those basic principles by virtue of which a constitution becomes model. There must first be agreement on the essentials. It will then be time enough to fill in the incidentals. That will mean the loss of a year, but it is best to make haste slowly.

Your Committee now begs to submit its recommendations under two headings. Those under heading "A" it regards as so fundamental and indispensable that it could scarcely proceed to formulate a model constitution without them. Those under heading "B" are not so important, but are yet important enough for your Committee to present as recommendations and to urge their adoption. It is hoped that this division will help to clarify and abridge debate by focusing it first on principles, next on corollaries and last of all, on incidentals. It will also help your Committee to decide, in case the Conference should accept some of its recommendations and reject others, whether the foundations themselves have been destroyed, making further labor futile, or merely features of the superstructure, requiring only modification of plan.

"A" (I)

1. Seats in the synagog shall be open and unassigned but it shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees, whenever required, to make reservations for special occasions.
2. There shall be no classification of the membership as regards the right to vote. Every member shall enjoy this right.
3. Membership in congregations shall be individual, and men and women shall be entitled to all privileges of the congregation by virtue of such membership.
4. The dues paid by any member shall be determined by his own declaration as to the amount he is willing to pay, subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

"B" (II)

1. Young people under the age of 21 and over the age of confirmation may join as contributing members without the right to vote.
2. No minimum due should be stipulated as a condition of membership.
3. There should be no mention whatsoever of any fee for the services of the Rabbi.
4. The Rabbi should be elected by the Congregation upon recommendation of the Board of Trustees.
5. The Rabbi should be an honorary member of the Congregation and of the Board of Trustees.

(III)

Should the above recommendations be in the main adopted, your Committee would offer for the approval of the Conference, the following plan of procedure: that the Committee on Model Constitution be continued; that it should present to the next Conference the draft of a complete Constitution based on the recommendations adopted at this Conference; that this Constitution be printed in type of three different sizes, in order to distinguish between the most, the less and the least important, enabling a Congregation thereby to exercise its freedom of decision with full knowledge as to whether it is merely modifying that which is quite optional or demolishing that which is altogether fundamental; that a copy of this printed Constitution be in the hands of every member of the Conference at least two months prior to the next Convention; that in the event of the adoption of this Constitution by the Conference, the Committee on Model Constitution be continued and be charged with the duty of presenting to the congregations of the country, the claims

of the new constitution, explaining to them its features, and making such propaganda as shall be consistent with their autonomous status.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS WITT, *Chairman* ABRAM SIMON
CHARLES J. FREUND NATHAN STERN
LOUIS J. KOPALD AARON L. WEINSTEIN
CHARLES S. LEVI LOUIS WOLSEY
JOSEPH RAUCH

The report was received and the recommendations taken up seriatim.

Recommendation I was adopted as amended.

Recommendation II was adopted.

Recommendation III was adopted as amended.

The report was received and the Committee was instructed to draw up a Constitution for Congregations embodying the recommendations suggested.

Rabbi Charles S. Levi—I believe the time has come to introduce genuine democracy into the synagog. Let us abolish the patriarchal system. The wives, the mothers, the sisters shall have full right of membership as well as the men.

The Conference adjourned.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON

The Conference re-convened at 2:00 o'clock.

The report of the Committee on Religious Work in Universities was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Franklin.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS WORK IN UNIVERSITIES

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Religious Work in Universities begs leave to report as follows:

The task entrusted to this Committee grows in importance from year to year. From the pulpit, from the platform and in the columns of at least one of our leading magazines there has come in recent times a challenge to the Jewish young men and young women to prove their Jewishness by leading Jewish lives. It has been charged that the synagog has lost its hold upon the growing generation because it seems to have no vital message for our youth. The institutional synagog as a means of winning back the allegiance

of our young people to Judaism, and other similar endeavors have also been strongly attacked.

That in all these charges there has been some measure of justification even the most optimistic among us cannot deny. All is not well with the house of Israel. What is needed more than anything else, however, if our young men and our young women are to be brought back in wholehearted loyalty to the faith of their fathers is that from their own ranks leaders shall arise whose enthusiasm for Israel's cause shall be contagious and whose example shall be a spur to other young people to do their bit in the cause of Israel, and through Israel, of humanity.

To inspire and encourage such lay leadership—if we be permitted to use that term—must be essentially the work of your Committee on Religious Work in Universities.

The task entrusted to us cannot fulfill itself by the distribution of tracts among the students; by introducing them to the social life of some neighboring synagog or even by giving them the opportunity of attending a congregational Seder. What is required of us, if we are to vitalize and energize the religious interests of the men and the women in our universities, is to awaken and stimulate that interest during the crucial, formative years of their lives. During the years when the young man and the young woman normally seeks to find himself and herself spiritually, and when all the influences about him or her are of necessity more or less un-Jewish, when companionship, absence of home influences and the non-existence of a congregation, all conspire to draw the youth away from Jewish interests and Jewish activities, it is our part to counteract these influences by bringing to the college student, in a fine, virile, sane and comprehensive fashion, the message which Judaism has for him. At that time we must step in with the reassuring message that not only is there nothing in Judaism which is contradictory to the findings of science or to the tenets of a true philosophy, but that as a matter of fact the two supplement and complement each other, and give a wholeness to the life of man. It is during the years when he attends college that the materialistic tendencies of a young man are likely to become dominant and when it seems to him the brave thing to allign himself with the skeptics and the scoffers. A right religious influence brought to bear at this period of his life will do more to save him to Judaism than anything else.

It is the pleasure of your Committee to note that efforts made along these lines directly and indirectly by your Committee, in co-operation with other agencies, notably the Department of Synagog and School Extension of the U. A. H. C., The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and its constituent societies in various localities, all tend to prove over and over again the principle for which we are contending. The most noteworthy achievement during the past year has been the expansion of the Student Synagog movement. At the

University of Michigan the Congregation has steadily grown in numbers and enthusiasm, and from among those who, as students, were regular attendants at the services during the four years of its existence, have gone forth—in gratifying numbers—men who at once have assumed places of leadership and responsibility in the Jewish life of their various communities.

At the University of Missouri, under the leadership of Rabbi Bernstein, acting as Deputy Supervisor of the U. A. H. C., a Student Congregation has been successfully instituted, while at Cornell, Rabbi Landman, Corresponding Secretary of the Conference, acting for our Committee, has established a similar congregation which promises to be not only one of the largest, but also one of the most enthusiastic organizations of its kind.

At the University of Michigan several notable changes have been introduced this year. A new ritual based upon a draft submitted by Professor Max Margolis has been adopted. This ritual is read by one of the students, the participation in the service by the visiting rabbi being limited to the preaching of the sermon, the reading of the Kaddish and the pronouncement of the benediction. Congregational singing has also been successfully introduced here.

It is the recommendation of your Committee that the establishment of Student Congregations in the various centers of learning throughout the country—and especially in those colleges that are situated a reasonable distance from established congregations, should be heartily encouraged. That this work may be successfully carried on, however, the whole-hearted co-operation both of rabbi and of our Jewish communities is necessary. For the sake of the cause rabbis should be willing to visit these student congregations for the mere payment of their expenses. It is gratifying to say that very few of our colleagues have declined to do this whenever called upon.

Up to this time practically all religious work among Jewish students has been confined to men's colleges or to co-educational institutions. An important work lies before us in the great women's colleges of this country, where hundreds of enthusiastic young Jewish women possessed of high ideals and who are destined to be the wives and mothers of another generation are, during the years of their college course, away from all Jewish influence. Some means should be devised by which the religious needs of these young women may be met, and it is recommended that the incoming Committee on Religious Work in Universities be instructed to make a careful study of this situation, to the end that means may be devised by which the religious problems of young women in colleges and universities may be adequately met.

Jewish communities and congregations can do much to enlist the interest of our Jewish students in the service of Judaism. We

recommend to this end that Jewish congregations situated near great educational institutions be requested to invite Jewish students to attend their services and that provision for such attendance be made for them especially on the high holydays.

Your Committee notes with especial pleasure that in several Jewish communities situated near institutions of learning an annual student day is set aside. The program of the day comprises attendance at religious services in the morning, the hospitality in the homes of the people and some sort of social entertainment in the afternoon or evening. Your Committee recommends that wherever possible encouragement should be given to the establishment of Student Days at the hands of our congregations and committees.

The coming year is likely to see a great diminution in the number of young men attending our universities. Many hundreds—perhaps many thousands of them will be called into the ranks to to serve their country. But they should be given every possible encouragement. But because of the fewer members who are likely to be in attendance at the colleges, the work of this committee should be all the more intensive. There is a wide field and an important task before us. It should be the work of this committee to meet its task with courage and with intelligence.

Respectfully submitted,

Leo M. Franklin, *Chairman*
Joseph S. Kornfeld
Louis L. Mann

The following resolution was introduced and adopted by a rising vote:

RESOLUTION

In order tangibly to evidence their appreciation of the unequalled hospitality extended to the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis attending the Buffalo convention by Congregation Beth Zion,

Be it Resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, through its Executive Board, present to Congregation Beth Zion a copy of the new translation of the Bible in pulpit size, properly inscribed.

Leonard J. Rothstein
Isidore Lewinthal
Henry Cohen
David Lefkowitz

Mr. Jacob Billikopf, Secretary of the Jewish War Relief Fund, addressed the Conference and urged the support of the

members for the completion of the $10,000,000 fund which is being raised.

Rabbis Henry Cohen and Solomon C. Lowenstein replied pledging the heartiest co-operation of the Conference in the work.

The Vice-President, Rabbi Grossman, takes the Chair.

The report of the Committee on President's Message was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Franklin.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on President's Message begs leave to report as follows:

The Conference is to be congratulated upon the splendid administration of its affairs during the past year. In a time of great crisis in Jewish, as well as in world affairs, the President has brought to the solution of important problems a high degree of ability and discretion.

His message submitted to this convention deals with a variety of subjects of great significance to the cause of Israel, and offers many suggestions of practical value and timely importance.

I We heartily commend to the attention of the members of this Conference the suggestion of the President that they tender their services as Chaplains to the Army and Navy of the United States through the Jewish Board for Welfare Work.

II We join in the President's suggestion that due acknowledgment should be made to Secretary of War Baker of our great obligation for the many courtesies extended to us during the time of the Mexican trouble, and herewith tender our thanks in due form.

We also concur in the President's suggestion that a vote of thanks be tendered to Rabbi Isaac Landman for his notable and self-sacrificing services on the Mexican Border. His service to our cause in this crucial time was of a very high order.

III Reiterating our belief that there should be Federal legislation leading to the uniformity of marriage and divorce laws, we believe that this Conference should resolve to enter, together with the International Committee on Marriage and Divorce and other agencies, upon a campaign of propaganda, which shall in due time help to make for uniform marriage and divorce laws throughout the United States.

IV We heartily concur in the recommendation that our members co-operate in every way possible in the completion of the Ten Million Dollar Fund for Jewish War relief, and urge that the Executive Board request the members of the Conference to speak on

this theme at one of the services during the forthcoming Holy Day season, and that moreover they organize their communities for effective work along relief work lines, where such has not already been done.

V In regard to the President's recommendation that as soon as possible another paper on Christian Science be included in the program of the Conference, your Committee begs leave to call attention to the paper read and to the resolutions on the subject previously adopted and which we reiterate as the expression of the opinion of this Conference.

VI All references to new publications contained in the President's Message, such as the Book of Penitential Prayers, the Volume of Sermons and the Appendix to Volumes I and II of the Prayerbook, your Committee believes should be referred to the Executive Board, and so recommends.

VII We rejoice in the completion of the new translation of the Bible and recommend that the members of this Conference do their utmost to put this volume into circulation in their congregations, that they use it as a text book in their religious schools and do what they may to give it a place in every Jewish home. We also urge that the members of the Conference at once order one of the Pulpit Bibles. In this connection we recommend that a vote of thanks be tendered to our colleagues, Rabbis Kohler, Philipson and Schulman, who have so ably and conscientiously represented this Conference on the Board of Editors of the new translation of the Bible.

VIII We endorse the President's recommendation that due recognition be taken of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the existence of the American Jewish Historical Society and of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the formation of the Reform Congregation of West London.

We further recommend that the carrying out of this resolution be left to the Executive Board.

LEO M. FRANKLIN, *Chairman*
DAVID ALEXANDER
HENRY BERKOWITZ
HYMAN G. ENELOW
SOLOMON FOSTER
LOUIS GROSSMAN
MAX HELLER
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF
LOUIS J. KOPALD
JOSEPH KORNFELD
CLIFTON HARBY LEVY
ALEXANDER LYONS
ISAAC LANDMAN
HARRY H. MAYER
MORRIS NEWFIELD
DAVID PHILIPSON
CHARLES A. RUBENSTEIN
MARCUS SALZMAN
SAMUEL SCHULMAN
JOSEPH STOLZ
JOSEPH SILVERMAN
SAMUEL SALE
ABRAM SIMON

On Recommendation X of the President's Message your Committee begs to present the following Majority Report:

MAJORITY REPORT

IX We herewith reaffirm the fundamental principle of reform Judaism, that the essence of Israel as a priest-people, consists in its religious consciousness, and in the sense of consecration to God and service in the world, and not in any political or racial national consciousness. And therefore, we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish nationalism, which finds the criterion of Jewish loyalty in anything other than loyalty to Israel's God and Israel's religious mission.

LEO M. FRANKLIN
DAVID ALEXANDER
HENRY BERKOWITZ
HYMAN G. ENELOW
SOLOMON FOSTER
LOUIS GROSSMAN
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF
JOSEPH KORNFELD
CLIFTON HARBY LEVY
ALEXANDER LYONS
ISAAC LANDMAN
HARRY H. MAYER
MORRIS NEWFIELD
DAVID PHILIPSON
CHARLES A. RUBENSTEIN
MARCUS SALZMAN
SAMUEL SCHULMAN
JOSEPH STOLZ
JOSEPH SILVERMAN
SAMUEL SALE
ABRAM SIMON

Rabbi Max Heller submitted the following minority report:

MINORITY REPORT—HELLER

Inasmuch as reform Judaism does not dogmatize on the geographical habitat or political status of the Jew;

Inasmuch as reform Judaism does not insist on the dispersion of the Jews as an indispensable condition for the welfare and progress of Judaism;

Be it Resolved, that there is nothing in the effort to secure a publicly and legally safe-guarded home for Jews in Palestine which is not in accord with the principles and aims of reform Judaism.

A second minority report was offered by Rabbi Kopald.

MINORITY REPORT—KOPALD

To the Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned respectfully submits this minority report of the Committee on the President's Message:

As members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which presumably is the official and representative teaching body of liberal Judaism in America, we feel that the passage of any resolution by this Conference, the effect of which is to deny to the individual members thereof the right of judgment as to the best method of realizing the mission of Israel is subversive of the principle of liberalism and therefore seriously menaces the future of liberal Judaism. Entirely apart from the consideration of the validity of Zionism, we feel that the principle of liberalism not only permits but insists that every Jew has the right to interpret for himself within the limits of unchallenged tradition the fundamental content of Judaism. We are convinced that whether the individual Zionist call himself race-Zionist, nation-Zionist or religion-Zionist, Zionism is ultimately nothing but an interpretation of the best method of conserving Judaism; and that when especially we realize that our liberal congregations, which the members of this Conference serve, are in all cases divided into Zionist and non-Zionist viewpoints, all the members of which, however, are recognized as having equal rights to membership in their congregations, it becomes unjust as well as logically untenable that this Conference go on record in any resolution aimed directly and proscriptively at one wing, and a growingly important wing, of Judaism. The writer of this minority report is himself not a Zionist, and yet he feels keenly the need of protecting the principle of Jewish liberalism, and of urging the members of the Conference not to take action so inimical to liberalism and so essentially un-Jewish.

LOUIS J. KOPALD

X On Recommendation VIII of the President's Message, your Committee begs leave to submit the following majority report:

MAJORITY REPORT

Whereas, the Russian Revolution has radically altered the condition of our co-religionists in Russia, promising to secure the civil and religious rights of the Jews all the world over;

Whereas, the United States is now an active participant in this world-war, and

Whereas, we are confident that the peace envoys who will repre-

sent our Government at the Peace Conference will conserve the civil and religious rights of all peoples, be it

Resolved, that it is the deliberate opinion of this Conference that the Congress called to be held at Washington on September 2, be not convened, and that this fact be communicated at once to the Administrative Committee of the Executive Committee for the call of the Congress.

However, if in the deliberate judgment of the Administrative Committee, it be deemed imperative to hold the Congress called for September 2 at Washington, we herewith instruct the four men to be elected by this convention as the representatives of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to withdraw from that body whenever the Congress in their judgment violates the agreements upon which the Congress was called.

Furthermore, be it Resolved, that this action be communicated at once to the Administrative Committee for their careful consideration, with the request that they communicate their decision, without delay, to the executive officers of the Conference.

DAVID ALEXANDER
HYMAN G. ENELOW
LOUIS J. KOPALD
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF
HARRY H. MAYER
MORRIS NEWFIELD
DAVID PHILIPSON
MARCUS SALZMAN
SAMUEL SCHULMAN
ABRAM SIMON
JOSEPH STOLZ

A minority report was submitted by part of the Committee as follows:

FIRST MINORITY REPORT

It is the sense of this Committee that the American Jewish Congress should not be held. The causes that in the first instance seemed to justify the calling of this Congress have, in large part, ceased to exist. The Russian Revolution has radically altered the condition of our co-religionists in Russia, promises to secure the civil and religious rights of the Jews all the world over, and has accomplished for them much that the proponents of the Congress had hoped to bring about.

The fact that the United States is now an active participant in the world-war, is another very cogent reason against the holding of this Jewish Congress.

We express our confidence that the Peace Envoys who will represent our Government at the Peace Conference, to be held at the conclusion of the war, will conserve the civil and religious rights of all peoples. For these and other reasons, it is deemed inadvisable

that the Conference take any further part in the formation or the holding of the American Jewish Congress, and, therefore,

Be it Resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis take no part in the American Jewish Congress.

LEO M. FRANKLIN ALEXANDER LYONS
JOSEPH S. KORNFELD CHARLES A. RUBENSTEIN
CLIFTON HARBY LEVY JOSEPH SILVERMAN

A second minority report was submitted by Rabbi Max Heller.

SECOND MINORITY REPORT—HELLER

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Believing that the Central Conference of American Rabbis is, by many considerations, both of consistency and of wise statesmanship, bound to take part in the Jewish Congress, we recommend that such course be pursued.

MAX HELLER

A vote of thanks was tendered the President by a rising vote.

Recommendations I-VIII were unanimously adopted.

A vote of thanks was extended to the representatives of the Conference on the Board of Editors of the New Bible Translation and was adopted by a rising vote.

Recommendation IX was read and a motion was made to table the majority and the minority reports. The motion was lost. Ayes 34, Nays 65.

Rabbi Calisch—There are two phases of Judaism both claiming to be the correct interpretation of Judaism. I contend that it is not the part of this Conference to make the decision. There are members of the Conference who are on both sides of the question. Let us show liberality. It is not for us to commit all our members to a philosophy of life to which only a part subscribe.

Rabbi Felix A. Levy—While I agree with the majority report, I believe the whole discussion is a mistake. Voting on a matter of this kind brings us no nearer to a solution of the problem.

Rabbi Clifton H. Levy—It was not the idea of the majority to declare that the Zionists are not Jews nor yet that Zionism is not doing Jewish work. But even the prophet of old warned against political alliances. We as Jews are interested especially in the development of religion. Judaism is built upon the religious consciousness. We are not denying the right of any or all of our colleagues to espouse the cause of Nationalism; we maintain that the great contribution of reform Judaism is the thought that Judaism is a universal religion.

Rabbi Deutsch—While agreeing with the majority that any advance of Judaism must be along religious lines, yet none of us would like to see many good men read out of Judaism. Therefore, I think we should leave it to the individual to determine whether or not he desires to affiliate with Jewish religious institutions.

Rabbi Deinard—It is true that prophetic Judaism has given us the ideal of universalism, of a priest-people, a people dedicated to the service of God; but it is not true that reform Judaism has eliminated the idea of Nationalism. You may ignore a movement which has brought back to the fold many of the most brilliant spirits of Israel, but do not say that it is incompatible with reform or progressive Judaism as many of us understand it.

Rabbi Harris—The reason I have been compelled to give to this movement not endorsement but reconsideration is its appeal to the young men and women in Israel. I have seen young people, suddenly coming into contact with Zionism, become all aflame not only with nationalism, but with religious fervor and brought back to the observance of Judaism.

Rabbi Lyons—No attempt is being made as I understand the majority resolution to read anyone out of the Conference. But if you are willing to adopt a statement which justifies the acceptance of any agency which may claim to further the cause of Judaism, you are practically sanctioning the stand of those who claim that by joining Christian Science they become better

Jews. We know their standpoint is absurd, but they feel they are thus justifying themselves. Why accomplish indirectly what can be accomplished in a more direct way.

Rabbi Cohon—Cultural Zionists disagree with the political Zionists as to the ultimate aim of Judaism being the re-establishment of a Jewish state. But we would gain nothing by adopting the majority report. We injure ourselves by constantly attacking Zionism. It is growing through our attacks upon it. Zionism is a purely economic interpretation of life and we, as a religious organization, have no such problem before us.

Rabbi Frisch—The greatest question which this Conference has been called upon to solve is now before us and to me it can be summed up in the words, Are the interests of Judaism secular or spiritual? And there seems to me to be but one answer. The great idea of Judaism is the religious or spiritual idea. Much has been said about the illiberality of the majority in not giving the Zionist members of the Conference the right of judgment. We who want to live with the world and not aloof from it feel that not only are we being denied the right of judgment by having forced upon us a philosophy of life with which we disagree, but there is being put forth a program of action as representing the feelings and thoughts of the Jews of America which many of us cannot accept.

Rabbi Franklin—No attempt has been made today or at any time to try to read anyone either out of Judaism or out of this Conference. But if by Zionism you mean what is generally accepted as the real definition of the word, namely, the rehabilitation of Jewish nationality on Palestinian soil, I maintain that it is a misreading and misinterpretation of Jewish history. We are constantly being urged to do this or that for the sake of peace. I believe there is something higher than peace, and that is principle. It is folly to speak of Zionism as a means for establishing a cultural center in Palestine or a center from which Jewish philanthropy may radiate. We are all that kind of Zionists, for that is Judaism, call it reform or orthodox.

Rabbi Rosenau—The purpose of the words in the message was to help frown down a Zionism which is political in its character. We who believe that the religious interpretation of Jewish history is the correct one have as much right to our opinion as have they who insist upon the national theory of Jewish life. We are constantly being told that we are "not Jews", that the only kind of Jew to be reckoned with is the Zionistic Jew. We, too, have traditions—the traditions of reform, and I would rather cling to the traditions of a movement that lays stress on the religious interpretation of life than to the traditions of a movement that cares nothing for that which is religious. All I wished to emphasize was that as a body of religious teachers we desire to see the religious note accentuated in life.

Rabbi Simon—It is not we who are trying to read anyone out of Judaism, but we are being read out. If reform Judaism and political Zionism are compatible they are only compatible by virtue of that peculiar psychology of each individual which permits him to enjoy all kinds of delicious contradictions within himself. I care not what the prophets have said. Their conception of Nationalism was not the conception that has developed in the last ten or fifteen years. We are suffering—Europe is suffering from the obsession of Nationalism. I do not believe that Nationalism is the last word in spiritual development. I do not believe that Nationalism represents the flowering of the religious soul life. I do not believe that Israel must go by way of Palestine—nationally speaking—to reach the land of religious development.

Rabbi Heller—It has been said that it is not the purpose of this resolution to read anyone out of the pale of reform Judaism. This may be true, but the adoption of this resolution will result in making the Zionists feel that they have not the same rights in the Conference by committing the Conference to an interpretation of Judaism which is not theirs.

Rabbi Maxwell Silver—Zionism is a movement of idealism. It includes all kinds and phases and shades of Zionists. But

official Zionism is political Zionism and properly so. But in spite of this I can see no incompatibility between Reform Judaism and Zionism.

Rabbi Kornfeld—If Zionism were merely an expedient for making better Jews we might well entertain it. But if we are serious in this matter then we hope to make it real. If we make it real we must be prepared to accept the conditions that go with the establishment of a political state in Zion.

This Conference has always taken the stand as being opposed to a union of Church and State. We have maintained that nationalism must be secular. From the standpoint of this Conference religious Zionism is impossible. As reform Jews, with our American principle of separation of Church and State, if Zion were a state, we could not accept it.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise—In the twenty years' history of this Conference there has never been an attempt made to compel any one to accept Zionism as the lawful and permissible interpretation of liberal or reform Judaism. But year after year we have heard Zionism attacked. You are making reform Judaism proscriptive of us who are Zionists. Perhaps you feel you have the right, perhaps you feel Zionists are a menace to liberalism and Judaism, but I warn you to be mindful of the Conference. If you pass this resolution, no matter how you water it or mitigate it, the moment you say that we who are Zionists are anti-religionists, that we are enemies of religious Judaism, that moment we must regretfully yet with absolute conviction say, "We can stay no longer within the Conference." I stand here today not as a Zionist, but as a reform rabbi. I would not have you say that a reform teacher or rabbi has forfeited the right to be a teacher of reform Judaism because he has subscribed to the Zionist platform. I appeal not for Zionism, but for the inclusiveness and comprehensiveness of liberal Judaism.

Will liberal Judaism, after a century of distinguished and outstanding history, make the monumental blunder of saying to men who love and serve it, "We bid you go forth"? I ask this not for the sake of Zionism, but that the honor and dignity and

noble history of reform Judaism shall not be marred and undone now.

Rabbi Philipson—I have been quoted as saying that Judaism and Zionism are incompatible. In each case I have emphasized the fact that to me the differentiating mark of Zionism is the Nationalist or political feature. According to my understanding, reform Judaism teaches universalism as over and against this very principle of nationalism. That is what I mean when I say that reform Judaism and political Zionism are incompatible. For me Zionism means this new thing in Judaism, this secular party in Judaism for whom religion means nothing, for whom Nationalism means everything. It has been said that we are trying to read people out of Judaism. No one can possibly disagree with the majority statement, "We reaffirm the fundamental principle of reform Judaism that the essence of Judaism consists in its religious consciousness and sense of consecration to God and His service in the world." Can any rabbi deny this? "Therefore", the report continues, "we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish Nationalism." There can be no misinterpretation of these words applying as they do to this new Jewish movement which is atheistic and non-religious.

Rabbi Schulman—We are not reading anyone out of this Conference, nor will we read anyone out. We tell no one what to believe. But this Conference is not a liberal body in the sense of a "colorless liberalism".

Zionism is a deliberate rejection of the whole movement and aspiration of the modern Jew which began with Mendelssohn and is crystallized in American reform—which says that Israel is a priest people, telling the world that Israel is a religious union, with historic basis, it is true, but not an expression of national aspiration. The Zionists, on the other hand, tell us that the heart of their movement is that which reform has for a hundred years denied. We are teachers and when a great question arises we must state where we stand. All the majority resolution asks is that you admit that this has been the contention of reform

Judaism—that the essence of our brotherhood is religious. Reform Judaism is a challenge to the world that Israel's Homeland is the World.

Rabbi Stolz—There have always been differences in Israel just as there are differences today. These differences have never been settled by taking a vote. I have a substitute resolution which was drawn up by a committee and was acceptable to all of the President's Message Committee except one or two. I submit it as expressing the sentiment of most of the members of the Committee.

Rabbi Stolz then introduced the following substitute resolution:

SUBSTITUTE RESOLUTION

In view of the present conditions in American Israel, the President has deemed it of urgent importance that the Conference at this time puts itself on record in regard to the nationalistic movement among Jews. Your Committee recognizes that a difference of conviction regarding this question exists among our own members, as well as among the Jews of America in general, even as differences of opinion regarding most important questions have always existed in Israel.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that the Conference reaffirm its traditional position that the essence of Israel as a priest-people consists in its religious consciousness and in the sense of consecration to God and his service to the world. And that, therefore, we must and do look with disfavor upon any and every unreligious or anti-religious interpretation of Judaism and of Israel's mission in the world.

It furthermore recommends that at a time of universal conflict and suffering, such as the present, it is of prime importance that the Conference emphasize not the differences that divide us, but those sacred principles which all Jews hold in common, and those great tasks which it is our paramount duty at the present moment to promote and perform together for the alleviation of human suffering and the healing of the Jewish people.

Upon motion, the substitute was adopted by a vote of 68 to 20.

Rabbis Calisch and Deutsch requested that their vote be recorded in the negative as opposed to any action on the part of the Conference on the subject of Zionism.

Rabbi Heller requested that his vote be recorded in the negative.

The Conference adjourned.

TUESDAY EVENING

The Conference re-assembled at 8:15 o'clock.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History was adopted as a whole as amended.

The discussion of the report of the Committee on President's Message was resumed.

Recommendation X, consisting of a majority and two minority reports, was read. (See p. 133.)

Rabbi Heller—The Conference took part in the organization of the Congress by having representatives on the administrative and other committees which helped in the final agreement which brought about the Congress call. It seems to me that we should now stand together to accomplish this union of Israel. Further, I believe that the Conference should add its prestige and dignity to this Congress and exercise whatever strength it has in the Congress. This is no longer a Jewish affair nor a private affair. We have stepped before the world with a Jewish Congress which shall represent American Jewry and stand for the aims which American Jewry wishes to pursue. If there are things about the convening of this congress, about the methods of conducting the election, about the actions of some of the officers to which some of us object, I believe that wise statesmanship will dictate that we ought still adhere to our first agreement and participate in the Congress.

Rabbi Frisch—As soon as peace had been established between the conflicting elements of the Jewish people, I felt I ought to advise my people to take an interest in the congress. Although we received our notice of the nominating convention but four days before it was held, I attended with two delegates. I was ashamed of that meeting. What started as an ethical, educational and religious movement, ended as a pure matter of politics. I am opposed to our going into the congress because the congress that

is going to be held will not represent American Judaism. 1,230,000 adults were entitled to vote. Less than 250,000 votes were cast. We want democracy, but influence, power and authority must be considered as well as number.

Rabbi Lyons—When this congress was contemplated, it was for the purpose of uniting the various elements of Jewish life in America, but, by the withdrawal of some of the most important organizations, it will not be representative nor will it be a congress.

Rabbi Henry Cohen—Although I am elected to represent my district in the congress, I do not believe that the Central Conference of American Rabbis should give this congress its support. In spite of the protocol and the agreement, Zionism was injected into the elections and we will find that if it assembles, the congress will not be representative of American Israel.

Rabbi Calisch—The congress was called into existence for the specific purpose of securing civil and religious rights for Jews in belligerent lands. Conditions have vastly changed since the congress was called and there is absolutely no further use for the congress. The reasons for the congress have ceased to exist and there is great danger in calling a congress which shall be diverted into channels detrimental to American Jews.

Rabbi Simon—To me this is not a matter of consistency and statesmanship, but one of simple honor. The pact has already been broken. From letters which we have all seen we learn that the pact is no more than a "scrap of paper" to be considered null and void. Our representatives in the coming congress would find themselves in a meeting where they will have neither place nor part. But I do believe that our representatives should go to the meeting, and if they find that their influence as moral leaders has no weight, they should withdraw from the congress.

Rabbi Marx—This Conference stands for certain principles, the congress stands for different ones. This Conference was willing to stand with united Israel to accomplish certain aims for our brethren in war-stricken lands. The moment we send dele-

gates to the congress, we are compromised to its actions. If we leave the convention, the American people will never understand and ours will be the responsibility.

Rabbi Stolz—If things have gone wrong, the place to assert it is before the congress; if the pact has been broken the place to say it is not here, but before the congress, and then let us see whether the congress will approve of the methods that have been employed. If the congress sets its seal of approval on these methods, then let our representatives withdraw and protest before the people of the country.

Rabbi Cohon—The purpose for assembling the congress was to obtain equal rights for our brethren in Russia and Roumania. They are now assured them. There only remained the problem of the Oriental Jews. They can best speak for themselves. We learn that they have also withdrawn from the congress saying that it will endanger their position. To go into the congress now knowing the methods used will be endorsing those methods.

Rabbi Kornfeld—It is not a question of what may have happened in individual localities, but the great fact is that the methods employed received the sanction of the secretary of the Administrative Committee. I believe in unity, but honor cannot be sacrificed even on the altar of unity. It is a moral issue and we should have the support of the Conference to strengthen us in this matter.

Rabbi Schulman—I believe we should do all in our power to show to the men at the head of the congress movement that it is the belief of this Conference that the congress should not be held; if, however, the administrative committee feels that it should still be convened, I believe we should subordinate our opinion to theirs and attend the congress. But we should do more. We should plainly state to these men that a pact has been made, namely, the exclusion of the question of Nationalism from the congress, and if they break this pact, the representatives of the Conference will walk out, for Israel must be loyal to honor. Let us offer the hand of co-operation and take a stand against dishonor.

The second minority report introduced by Rabbi Heller was first voted upon and was unanimously lost.

The first minority report was then voted upon and carried by a vote of 40 to 36.

Rabbi Schulman requested that his vote be recorded in the negative as favoring attending the congress.

The report was then adopted as a whole as amended.

The report of the Special Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction was presented by the Chairman, Rabbi Wolsey.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON WEEKDAY RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction submitted the following resolution to the Wildwood convention:

"Be it resolved, that this Conference commend the Gary Plan of Weekday religious instruction; and be it further resolved that a commission be appointed, whose duty shall be to study the practical difficulties in the way of this plan, such as schedules, curricula, teachers, school equipment, finances, how to correlate the work of the regular Sunday Schools with that of the Week Day religious schools, and such other practical problems as may present themselves, and report back their findings and recommendations to this Conference at its next annual meeting."

The report having been adopted, this Committee was continued and charged with the duty of making further study of the details of a system of weekday religious instruction. The thought of the Committee was that such a study would enable the members of this Conference to commit themselves wholeheartedly to a plan which could augment the usual opportunities for teaching religion to the children.

Accordingly the work of the Committee was subdivided as follows:

"Schedules"—Rabbi Clifton H. Levy.

"Teachers"—Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber.

"Equipment and Finance"—Rabbi Harold F. Reinhart.

"Correlation of Sunday School and Weekday Religious School"—Rabbi George Zepin.

These separate reports are appended to this report of the entire Committee. For a brief and tentative curriculum, the schedule of studies in vogue in the Ezra School in the Bronx, established by the Department of Synagog and School Extension, is submitted as a suggestion.

It is the thought of the Committee that our present system of educating the children religiously is inadequate. Our work is confined almost exclusively to a Sunday morning session ranging in length from one to three hours covering a year of from 35 to 40 weeks. In a few instances this activity is supplemented by an hour of instruction on Saturday mornings. With all of the time and academic handicap, it is a matter of no little wonder that we have been able to accomplish as much as we have.

But the work of the Sunday School has not been above criticism. We have ourselves been the critics of the system. But while we fall afoul of the methods and equipment of the teachers, or the failure of the home to co-operate with the school, we have all too frequently refrained from speaking of the lack of time. Committed as we are to the paramount importance of religious education, realizing as we do its necessity for the preservation of Judaism and for the moral development of our children, we have been loathe to recognize the basic fault of the religious school—namely its scanty apportionment of time. We will be nearer the solution of our religious problem, if we shall recognize that it is next to impossible to instruct our children in their religion, its thought and history and content, in three hours and less a week. Just so long as we are indifferent to this situation or express our interest by merely referring to it, just so long do we render ourselves liable to attack by those sectarians who, perceiving the weakness of the Sunday School, insist upon religious instruction in the public school. The time for instruction must be lengthened out. Your Committee regards this as fundamental.

Again, your Committee is of the opinion that while we have, in season past, insisted upon the separation of church and state, the very freedom we have demanded has already been violated in almost every State of the Union. Your Committee indicated in its report last year, that Bible reading was either mandatory or permitted in 38 States of the Union. There is hardly a schoolhouse in America where sectarianism has not peacefully penetrated. The sincere Christian teacher does not regard the introduction of Christological facts into the schoolroom as a sectarian act, or as a violation of the principle of religious liberty. The festivals of Christmas and Easter in particular are made the occasions for religious teaching everywhere, and especially in the kindergarten and primary grades. Gradually, but none the less ominously, the Jewish child of the public school has been environed by a Christian or sectarian spirit, and where the soul of the child has not been impressed, the moral fibre has been affected, for its silence not alone bespeaks cowardice, but alas gives it to feel that Judaism is either an inferior or else a despicable, because a despised religion.

We are confronted with a serious problem. We speak of our American loyalty, and of the privilege of our American citizenship, but we do nothing for the raising of that standard of citizenship, when we offer to America's millions of children merely a Sunday morning for moral and religious instruction. If we say of the Christian that he should open his church school oftener than once a week, it becomes incumbent upon us to exemplify our own advice. If we insist upon the home acting as the moral teacher, we must regretfully call to mind the thousands of homes within and without Israel, which are incapable of giving formal instruction in religion and morals. In a day like this, we must commit ourselves unreservedly to some activity which will mean the raising up of a generation of men and women superior to those who have deluged the world with blood and death. An hour a week is ludicrously inadequate for instruction in the highest of human obligations. If religion is universal, and has its message for every day and every relation of life, then society must provide some equitable plan whereby the obligation of providing every child with his spiritual birthright may be fulfilled.

This Conference has committed itself to the Gary Plan of Weekday Religious Instruction which is only a technical way of saying that we believe in more hours per week of religious education. How this may be accomplished is answered by the special report of our committeemen. Your Committee does not minimize difficulties either as to the establishment of a system whereby the public schools could give the children to their denominational schools, or providing the schools with adequately prepared teachers, or the financing of the schools, or the distances between public schools and the churches or church schools, or the correlation of the Sunday School and the Weekday School. But it believes that if we are conscious of the gravity of the situation, and the imperative necessity of meeting it constructively and aggressively, we will overcome its difficulties. It should, however, be understood that it is not the obligation of this Conference to work out a plan for every community, or to supply details for the school machinery of every school district. It is sufficient that the Conference announce a principle and throw the weight of its influence into every activity that proposes the adoption of that principle in every American community.

Your Committee would, therefore, recommend that the Central I Conference of American Rabbis acting upon its previous indorsement of the Gary Plan of Weekday Religious Instruction, advocate to its members the establishment in the congregations represented in this body, a weekday school for religious instruction of a least one hour a week, to the end that this humble beginning may lead to schools with a greater number of hours;

II That the members of this body be advised to establish in their congregations Normal Schools and Classes for the preparation of teachers;

III That the Central Conference of American Rabbis correspond with the various general denominational bodies in America advising them of the action of this Conference, and soliciting and offering co-operation to the end that the Boards of Education throughout the country devise ways by which the public schools could give their children to the denominational schools at the written request of the parents during certain hours of the week.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS WOLSEY, *Chairman* TOBIAS SCHANFARBER
HENRY BARNSTEIN SAMUEL SCHULMAN
CLIFTON H. LEVY JOSEPH STOLZ
HAROLD F. REINHART GEORGE ZEPIN

EQUIPMENT

RABBI HAROLD F. REINHART

The Gary churches conduct their classes in religion in rooms—mostly in the basements—of the churches and settlement houses. These rooms are equipped with the usual schoolroom furniture: desks, blackboards, tables, etc. There is no reason why the instruction under the Gary plan should call for any different sort of equipment from that in use in other schools.

The chief problem in the matter of equipment is providing the schoolrooms themselves. The rooms at the churches are inadequate because of the fact that the churches are not located conveniently for all, or even most of the children.

In Gary, the evil results of not having adequate schoolrooms for religious instruction are evident. In one school, about which are grouped most of the churches of the city, about 40% of the children attend church-school. In another school near which is only one church, only about one-tenth of the total number of children attend church-school. All of the churches report that the children who attend their classes, come either exclusively or almost exclusively from the school that is in the neighborhood of the church. Thus the Methodists have about 150 children from the Jefferson School, only about 30 from the Emerson School, which is larger than the Jefferson but further away, and none at all from the Froebel, which is the largest of all but too far away. The Methodists have a Settlement House which happens to be in the neighborhood of the 24th Avenue School; and more than 40% of the total enrollment of that school—all who attend church-school at all—attend this Methodist church-school. Similarly the

Christian Church which has an enrollment of 78 children, draws *all* its children from the Jefferson School. Only one child of the big Emerson School attends a Baptist church-school. In some of the outlying schools, no children attend church-school.

This condition is inevitable under the Gary plan, where the children must go to their religious classes and return either to their *school*—as many do in Gary, a fact which Rabbi Clifton Harby Levy, who has undoubtedly taken his data from New York experience, has overlooked—or else to their homes, which are, after all, usually in the immediate neighborhood of the school—all in an hour.

In my own religious school, I have children from the Jefferson and the Emerson and only a couple from the other schools. For weekday instruction, I conduct classes for the Jefferson School children in the Temple, and for the Emerson School children in a private home which is near the school. The other few children are supposed to come to one of these classes. But, in practice, they do not attend much. And the fault is not theirs—the distance makes it practically impossible.

It would seem essential, therefore, that in order to reach the children, there should be a church-school in close proximity to every public school.

Finance

Increasing the number of places for religious instruction will, of course, add to the expense. Financing the weekday religious schools is already a serious problem.

The Gary church-schools are free to the children. The expense runs from five dollars a pupil a year (at the Neighborhood House) to about sixteen dollars a year (at the Christ-Episcopal Church). The expense is evidently not great; but only a very small part of it—(less than one-fourth)—is met by local funds. The greater part is borne by the state and national Sunday School boards and home-mission societies.

The usual talmud-torah method of support—taxing the parents of the children—is unsatisfactory, since it places the burden too heavily on the parents who are oftentimes the least able to pay, and is not in keeping with the ideals of democracy.

On the other hand, the method of raising funds used by the Christian Churches in Gary could not be adopted and extended by us; for the funds are forthcoming only because the Gary schools are regarded as an experiment; and when the system is extended to other towns, the local communities will have to be self-supporting.

The problem of finances can be solved only when the communities themselves will wake to the importance of sufficient religious instruction; and will—as congregations—freely supply the funds required for weekday schools as they have done for religious services and for Sunday Schools.

SCHEDULES UNDER THE GARY PLAN OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

CLIFTON HARBY LEVY

The problem of arranging schedules of Religious Schools conducted in connection with the "Gary Public Schools" is simple, and at the same time one of the best recommendations for the Gary Schools as endorsed at the Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1916.

The typical Gary School has periods, termed "Home Periods" for each class, and these "Home Periods" may well be utilized for religious instruction, making it possible to teach a maximum number of children in a minimum plant with a minimum number of teachers.

According to the programs of the Gary Classes, one set of children comes to the Public School at 8:30 A. M., while the other set is not due at the school until eighty minutes later. This set may then attend the Religious School each morning for one hour, without having to lose too much time in leaving home, being dismissed in time to reach the public school promptly.

The set of children which has been in school since 8:30 being released 80 minutes later may then go to the Religious School for one hour, being released in time to reach home for luncheon.

Still another group of children which has been attending public school for 160 minutes in the morning will not be expected to report at the public school until 2:20 P. M. so that group may go to the Religious School immediately after luncheon, being dismissed in time to reach the school, while a fourth group that has been attending the public school all morning and from luncheon to 2:20 P. M., may, upon release go to the Religious School for an hour's instruction. Still a fifth group of older children, who may not have any "Home Periods", under the public school schedule, may reach the Religious School after final dismissal from the public school and receive an hour's instruction.

In this way, the teacher in the Religious School would give actually five hours of instruction to five different groups of children, and while that teacher's hours at school are somewhat extended, lasting from 8:30 A. M. to 5 P. M. the actual amount of teaching has been but five hours. It is, therefore, plain that with this schedule each teacher can easily care for five groups of children, say 35 in each group, thus teaching 175 children per week, requiring but one room, one set of desks or chairs, blackboards, etc., using a minimum of room and equipment for a maximum of result.

This is the supreme consideration in New York City, where a careful survey has shown that in the one Borough of the Bronx only 6,000 Jewish children receive any religious instruction of any kind, and 45,000 receive no religious teaching whatever. There are not sufficient

religious school buildings or synagogs there or in any other section of New York to accommodate the Jewish children if they were to come at one and the same time, but under the Gary Plan it is possible to accommodate all of the children, coming in groups and thus multiplying accommodations five times over.

It cannot be stated, for the work has been going on too short a time, that the school opened by the Synagog and School Extension Department has solved the problem. It has only pointed the way to its solution, but on a sufficiently large scale to prove that here is the solution of the problem.

In this school (which is about to be duplicated in one or more other locations) are more than 500 children, handled by five teachers some of whom give only a portion of their time. Politics unfortunately still has play in the Public School system of New York, and the Gary Plan has been interfered with greatly through all kinds of plotting, so that no fair test has been made.

But we have learned that many thousand children can be reached by these religious schools, with an elastic schedule, so that the teachers may find it worth their while to make the teaching in the religious school a life-mission. There is no difficulty in securing very efficient teachers, who are paid at the same rate as the teachers in the Public Schools.

In the school which has been operated for a year, over 60% of the pupils had no religious instruction previously, so the unreached are being reached.

A very notable effect is the influence upon the children, for the Principal of one of the Public Schools attended by these pupils reports that both the attendance and scholarship of the pupils attending our Religious School show a marked improvement over their previous record, and are better, as an average, than those of children not attending.

It can hardly be doubted that the moral effect upon children attending a properly organized Religious School will be good, and here for the first time it has been demonstrated to be true as to a sufficiently large number of children for the test to be of value.

Many difficulties have been encountered in the arranging and rearranging of schedules, on account of the fact that the Gary System is only in process of introduction in the New York Public Schools, and that many of the buildings are not yet properly equipped for the work. But nevertheless it has been demonstrated that five groups of children per diem may be handled successfully by each teacher, and that each child can receive five hours of religious instruction each week, besides the assembly work done on Sunday mornings.

Another important feature of this schedule is the establishment of the fact, which many fail to understand, that no child goes to the

Religious School and then returns to the Public School, thus breaking into the routine, and necessarily forming groups on the way to and from the Religious School, but each set of children goes to the Religious School either directly from home or on the way home, and that the children go singly, just as they do to the Public School, and not in companies or lines, forming the groups to which some critics have objected.

The religious instruction made possible under the Gary system seems to offer the only possible solution for the enormous problem in New York City where there are at least 200,000 Jewish children without any kind of religious teaching. The method by which a maximum use is made of existing school plants, or those obtainable, and a maximum efficiency of the teaching staff to the largest possible number of children, is secured, is a sufficiently weighty argument to combat all opposition. When properly understood, there can be no valid objection, especially as there is no alignment of the children of different denominations within the Public School or near it.

CORRELATION OF THE WORK OF THE REGULAR SUNDAY SCHOOL WITH THAT OF THE WEEKDAY RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

RABBI GEORGE ZEPIN

The subject assigned to the writer by the Special Committee on Weekday Religious Instruction seems to imply that the weekday religious school, when introduced, is to be regarded as something different and additional to the Sunday School now in existence. While this state of affairs may be forced upon us it seems to the writer that it would be better to regard the whole movement as an attempt to have the religious school meet two or three times a week instead of once a week. Under such circumstances the problem of correlation disappears. There is so much that we desire our children to learn that even two additional days would not suffice for our purpose. There is a minor difficulty presented by the absence of adequate text books at the present moment for schools that plan to hold sessions three times a week. This, however, is only a temporary difficulty and we may rest assured that having created the market for such books, the supply will soon follow.

Of course, we cannot ignore the possibility of meeting with a divided sentiment with regard to the necessity for an increased number of sessions for the religious school. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are some parents who will insist upon their children attending only once a week. Under these circmstances the two groups of children, namely, those that attend once a week and those that

attend twice or three times a week, in reality constitute two schools. Even under these circumstances the problem of co-ordinating the two sets of studies presents no very great difficulties in practice. Cases of this description are in existence and it might be well to turn to them to ascertain the possibility for succeeding in this experiment.

The schools maintained by our orthodox brethren meet four times a week and a great many of them have introduced an extra session on Sunday, which is also sometimes called a Sunday School. In these schools the instruction on week days is confined to Prayerbook, Bible texts and Mishna. As a rule, the instruction on Sundays is confined to Jewish history and music. Many orthodox Jewish schools in New York have even introduced a Sunday School feature that corresponds very much to our Sunday School. The subject matter of the curriculum is History, Music, Jewish Literature in English. This school is maintained side by side with the day school and correlates perfectly with it because these subjects are not taught on week days and because the subjects taught on week days, Hebrew language and Hebrew literature, are not taught on Sundays. Another reason for the perfect correlation is because the weekday schools are intended primarily for boys and the Sunday schools primarily for girls. This rule is not strictly adhered to. The parents of some of the girl pupils insist upon their attending weekday school. And some boys will invade the Sunday school in addition to receiving the weekday instruction. Such subtle flattery helps the officers overlook any instances of lack of co-ordination. While the practice of these orthodox schools cannot be taken as a pattern for our own schools, it indicates a way out of the difficulty.

There are a great many difficulties in the way of introducing Weekday Religious Instruction and to the extent that these difficulties make for a divided clientele, they bring about the necessity for co-ordination. However, none of these additional difficulties present problems not touched upon in the above paragraph. I propose merely to indicate these difficulties.

Where the change from a Sunday school to a weekday school is made against the wishes of the parents, in bringing it about some pupils attend once a week and others several times a week, a condition very much like the one above described results. We really have two schools. The easiest way to solve this problem is to have two different but co-ordinating sets of studies. A program of history and public worship on Sunday and a program of Hebrew and Jewish literature in English on week days is a suggestion which may be worked out. It is a question as to whether this is not really a problem in diplomacy rather than a problem in co-ordination.

The question has been raised as to whether the Sunday school cannot be merged with the weekday school and this be dispensed with. In the opinion of the writer there are distinguishing characteristics

about the Sunday school which are worthy of being preserved in this merging of schools. The usual school assembly or public service or exercise in religious music together with the concomitant sermonette by the rabbi, or the combination of all of these is a distinct advance over the old fashioned Cheder and is a discipline worthy of preservation. No matter how much time we could secure from the public school on weekdays we probably will not get a complete morning of two or two and a half hours. It would be unwise, therefore, to disband the religious school on Sundays merely because we have sessions on weekdays. The character of the studies need not be very different but we can ill afford to lose the Sunday assembly period.

It is notoriously true that our synagogs are financially unprepared to convert their Sunday Schools into Weekday Schools. However, if the change is made gradually the parents may become accustomed to making larger sacrifices for the religious education of their children. The difficulty of finding teachers who can spare the time on week days is not to be overlooked. However, it may become possible to make teaching in the religious schools a profession and thus overcome this difficulty. There is a geographical difficulty not easy to overcome. Parents, as a rule, send their children to the nearest school. They do not, however, send their children to the nearest religious school. Membership in synagogs survives change of residence. On Sunday mornings it may be possible for the children to travel great distances for the purpose of attending religious school, but if these distances had to be covered within a limited space of time on week days it is doubtful whether the children could attend as regularly as they do on Sundays. These three difficulties do not result in any problem of co-ordination other than the one mentioned above in this report.

In closing I wish to say that the problem of co-ordination is a comparatively simple one and should present no difficulties that cannot be easily overcome.

HOW TO MEET THE DIFFICULTY OF SECURING TEACHERS FOR THE GARY PLAN OF WEEKDAY RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

RABBI TOBIAS SCHANFARBER

One of the most frequent criticisms aimed at the regular Sunday schools is that the teachers are not sufficiently equipped with Jewish knowledge and pedagogical skill and training to undertake the work of teaching our children in the elementary matters touching the history, thought and life of the Jews and Judaism. And the criticism is justified. In many of the Sunday Schools of the country, more particularly in the smaller communities, the corps of teachers is composed of young men and women, who, without any previous prepara-

tion, volunteer their services as teachers. In the larger cities where the teachers receive remuneration for their work public school teachers mostly are employed. It is not always true that a public school teacher makes a good teacher in the religious schools. It cannot be gainsaid that usually they maintain better discipline than those teachers who do not instruct in the public schools, but something more is required of the teacher in a religious school than the mere ability to get the proper discipline. The teachers ought to be possessed of a love for their religion. They must be reverential in attitude. They should show their attachment for their religion by devotion to the synagog and attendance at the same. For the ultimate object of every Sunday school is to instill into the children a proper love and devotion to their religion and if the teachers themselves do not go before and show the way, how can we expect a sincere attachment to the faith on the part of the children? A careful investigation of this side of the question will disclose the fact that but the fewest of our religious school teachers makes the synagog and Judaism pivotal in their lives.

Aside from this all-important consideration, it seems next to impossible to secure a sufficient number of teachers who are fortified with sufficient knowledge of the history and thought of our people to become efficient teachers of our children. It is but natural to suppose that with the introduction of the Gary Plan of Weekday Religious Instruction this difficulty will be greatly increased. We do not believe that we will require a larger force of teachers with the introduction of the weekday religious instruction. In fact with the four shifts of pupils we would require a less number of teachers. But we could not call upon our regular corps of Sunday School teachers for the weekday work because most of them teach in the public schools and it would be asking too much of them to undertake this additional task. We doubt whether they could undertake it even if they wanted to because it would be certain to conflict with their hours of instruction in the public schools. This would make it necessary for us to secure the services of an entirely different set of teachers for the weekday instruction from those who instruct in the regular Sunday Schools, and this, of course, would not be such an easy matter. Besides this it is very apparent that the teachers in the weekday religious schools will have to be possessed of a more extensive knowledge of Jewish history, life, thought and literature than the ordinary Sunday school teacher. It is but fair to assume that the curriculum of a weekday religious school, with its added hours of instruction, will include subjects not to be found in the curriculum of the regular Sunday school. It will have to cover a larger area of Jewish history. It will, no doubt, cover the entire period of Jewish history down to modern times. There ought to be a course dealing with the customs, rites and ceremonies in Israel. There ought to be a course in advanced Hebrew and Hebrew

Grammar. The curriculum might provide a course in the critical study of the Bible and in the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* and there are still many other subjects that it might include.

Where are the teachers to get this knowledge, and if they do not possess it, of what use would it be to institute a weekday religious school?

The difficulty may not be as great as we may at first suppose. Never in the history of American Israel were there so many agencies at work preparing young men and women for the Jewish teacher's profession as today. We have the Teacher's Institute connected with the Theological Seminary of America that has a large number of students attending its sessions and from which not a few students have already graduated. We have the Teachers' Institute connected with the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, that is preparing young men and women to take up the teacher's vocation and it has met with a fair measure of success. Besides this the Teachers' Institute of the Hebrew Union College has been conducting for the past three years summer courses in the cities of Cleveland and Chicago which have been largely attended and at which much earnest work has been done. The Correspondence School of the Jewish Chautauqua Society has instituted courses which deal with a wide range of subjects bearing on Jewish thought, life and literature and which are intended to equip the students who take the courses with sufficient knowledge to take up a teacher's position in the religious schools. The Chautauqua Correspondence School has a large enrollment of students. The Educational Bureau, which up to the recent annual meeting of the Kehilla of New York, was one of its constituent agencies, but is now operating separately from that organization, has always conducted normal classes for the instruction of teachers of the Jewish religion. The rabbis of most of the large cities of the country conduct normal classes for the teachers of their religious schools. And in some of the cities of the country where there are a number of congregations a Religious School Teachers' Association has been formed in which instruction is given monthly and problems bearing on the conduct of religious schools are discussed. With all these agencies at work, though the difficulties are very real, it does not seem that they are insuperable. We ought to be able to recruit a sufficient number of teachers in the process of time to lead and conduct weekday religious schools successfully and with much good to the cause of Judaism. Of course, we will have to make it worth while for the teacher to take up the profession of teaching. We will have to make the teacher's vocation an honorable one. The emoluments must be made sufficiently inviting to induce them to make the teaching of religion their life vocation. This will entail an increased expense on the part of the congregation. But the congregation ought to be willing to meet the expense. We feel that it would be money

wisely spent. The children educated in our religious schools are to be the future Jews of America. We cannot give them too thorough an education in their religion. At the present time the congregations are spending very little money on their religious schools. There is not a congregation in the country that does not spend ten times as much for the synagog proper as it does for the religious school. The time will come when the congregations will consider the work of the religious schools just as important and more so than the work of the synagog proper, and will be willing to expend as much for its conduct as they do for the conduct of the synagog. When that time comes we will get more efficient religious schools. When that time comes the congregations will be willing to introduce the Gary Plan of Religious Weekday Instruction, and we believe that the teachers needed for this work will be forthcoming.

The report was received and adopted.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on President's Message was concluded. (See p. 142.)

The Conference adjourned.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 4TH

The Conference convened at 9:30 o'clock.

The opening prayer was delivered by Rabbi Latz.

It was moved and adopted that all references to the President in the minority report of the Committee on President's Message be expunged from the minutes.

The report of the Special Committee, to which was referred the resolution on Rabbinical Summer School, was read.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON RABBINICAL SUMMER SCHOOL

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The Special Committee to which was referred the resolution on Rabbinical Summer School submits the following report:

We recommend:

I That the Central Conference of American Rabbis strongly endorse the establishment of a rabbinical summer school following its annual meetings;

II That the purpose of such a school shall be to enable members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and others in the rabbinate to pursue advanced studies in Jewish literature, history, and philosophy; these studies to be of such a standard that they may eventually lead to the attainment of higher degrees from recognized institutions of learning;

III And that the incoming Executive Board appoint a special committee to carry out this project at as early a date as possible.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS NEWFIELD, *Chairman*	LEE J. LEVINGER
SAMUEL N. DEINARD	DAVID MARX
HARVEY B. FRANKLIN	MARIUS RANSON
JOSEPH S. KORNFELD	SAMUEL SCHWARTZ
MORRIS S. LAZARON	

The report was received and adopted and referred to the Executive Board.

Consideration of the report of the Committee on Model Constitution for Congregations was resumed and the Committee was instructed to draw up a Constitution embodying the recommendations as adopted.

The report of the Auditing Committee was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Marcuson.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Auditing Committee begs leave to report that all books and accounts of officers and committees have been carefully audited, and found to be correct. It is pleased to note the flourishing condition of the Conference, and feels convinced that if the present business methods of the various committees be continued, the Conference will have found a way to become and have a greater influence in the country, by cutting down its expenses, rather than by curtailing activities. Your Committee strongly agrees with the view of the Publications Committee that no time should be lost in pushing Revised Volume I and that it should be ready for distribution at the earliest possible moment. The matter of issuing a separate Sabbath Evening and Morning Service book can safely be left to the Executive Board, yet your Committee feels that if it be merely the financial question, the matter could be satisfactorily arranged by fixing the

price of this little book at such a figure that the profit to the Conference will be the same as from the larger book. Your Committee feels that the question of holding a large or small book in the hand of the worshipper is not to be entirely ignored.

In regard to the weekday service, your Committee agrees with the recommendation of the Publications Committee, that the reprint should be ordered by the Executive Board.

Your Committee recommends that the Committee on Synagog Music be instructed to take the New Union Hymnal in hand, and prepare such revisions, additions and omissions, as they may find necessary.

Your Committee feels that the recommendation of the Publications Committee to fix the price of the Ministers' Hand Book at One Dollar is a good one, and should be adopted.

Your Committee likewise recommends most heartily that a copy of the Ministers' Hand Book, nicely bound, be presented to the Chairman of the Revision Committee, Rabbi William Rosenau.

Your Committee doubts the wisdom of attempting to repair books which are defective, and feels that unless these books are very numerous, they could better be used for free distribution or other purposes. The cost of repairing a book of this type, at the present price of labor, would hardly justify the experiment. However, this can be left to the discretion of the Chairman of the Publications Committee.

Your Committee favors the recommendation of the Publications Committee that the contract with the Bloch Publishing Company be renewed on the same terms and conditions as at present in force.

Your Committee feels that the thanks of the Conference is due to Rabbi Franklin, Chairman of the Publications Committee, for the care with which he has attended to the work entrusted to him, and for the businesslike manner in which his office was conducted, and it is the hope of the Committee that he will continue to give the Conference the benefit of his experience.

Respectfully submitted,

Isaac E. Marcuson, *Chairman* Meyer Lovitch
Ephraim Frisch Samuel Schwartz

The report was received and adopted.

The President extended the thanks of the Conference to Rabbi Marcuson for services rendered in auditing the books of the officers of the Conference.

The special committee to which was referred the report of the Committee on Holy Day Observance (see p. 73) submitted the following report:

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON HOLY DAY OBSERVANCE REPORT

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee, to which was referred the report of the Special Committee on Holy Day Observance, with instructions to report back to this convention of the Conference, begs leave to submit the following:

It is the sense of your Committee that the report contains several observations and suggestions worthy of earnest consideration; however, we recommend that this entire report be resubmitted to the incoming standing Committee on Holy Day Observance for further careful and serious study. We urge such action for the following reasons:

First: The report presents the views and suggestions of only three members of the Committee of eleven.

Second: The Chairman admits that on account of lack of time he was unable to give the subject adequate study and investigation. To use his own words: "The question ought to have been thoroughly studied, and the members of the Committee should have had at least one meeting during the year, and in default of that, they should have received several communications from me to enlist more of their co-operation. As it was, there was no meeting, and I had time to send out only one request for suggestions to embody in this report."

Your Committee accordingly urges that the report be recommitted.

Respectfully submitted,

SEYMOUR G. BOTTIGHEIMER, *Chairman* I. E. PHILO
EMIL W. LEIPZIGER SAMUEL THURMAN
MORRIS NEWFIELD

The report was received and adopted.

Rabbi Landman read a report of his activities among the Jewish soldiers at the Mexican border.

REPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES FOR MEN OF THE JEWISH FAITH, IN THE ARMY AND MILITIA, ON THE TEXAS BORDER AND IN MEXICO (ROSH HASHANAH AND YOM KIPPUR, 1916)

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: The mobilization of American troops on the Mexican Border and the Punitive Expedition that entered Mexico last Summer

and Fall called for active work on the part of the Conference to provide for the religious needs of the men of the Jewish faith in these forces. Alive to this imperative need, especially during the High Holy Days, your President and Corresponding Secretary, with the sanction and co-operation of the Executive Board, soon after the adjournment of the Wildwood convention, proceeded to carry into effect the work for the Jewish men in the Army and Militia.

This report is a concise statement of the work undertaken and accomplished. In a separate file, to be sealed and placed in the Archives of the Conference by order of the Executive Board, your Secretary has gathered all the correspondence on the subject, as well as copies of the letters from the War Department, the orders from Southern Department Headquarters to District Commanders, the memoranda issued to Camp Commanders by the District Commanders, the Orders of the Day concerning the services at the various camps, and a set of photographs taken at several places where services were conducted. (Appendix K.)

Three difficulties faced your President and Secretary, after they had been authorized by the Executive Board to proceed with the undertaking; (1) The War Department at Washington had no idea that there were enough Jews in the American forces to require a systematic organization for religious services; (2) the Conference had no money for this enterprise, and (3) we had no Prayerbook that would be suitable or available for the purpose.

Through the co-operation of Rabbi Samuel Marks, of San Antonio, Rabbi Martin Zielonka, of El Paso, and several Jewish officers in the Militia, we ascertained that there were at least 2,500 Jews at the Border. With this information, and through the eager assistance of Rabbi Abram Simon, of Washington, and Mr. Gus Karger, a newspaper correspondent at the Capital, an interview was arranged with the Secretary of War. Mr. Baker immediately issued a letter to Major General Funston, at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, in which he ordered the Commanders of the Southern Department to extend such courtesies and help to your authorized representative as would enable him to carry out the work assigned to him and as would be consistent with urgent military duties.

The second difficulty was overcome by the efforts of your President, who, while the negotiations with the War Department were in process, proceeded, with the assistance of Rabbis Henry Berkowitz, Emil G. Hirsch and Joseph Krauskopf, to raise a special fund for financing the project.

The last difficulty was overcome by a vote of the Executive Board authorizing the issue of a shortened form of the Union Prayerbook, Volumes I and II, for the soldiers of the Jewish faith at the Mexican frontier. Your President and Secretary prepared the

manuscript. Assisted by Rabbi Eli Mayer, of Philadelphia, the President saw the volume through the press, after your Secretary had started on his mission. Each book contained a presentation page inscribed: *This Prayerbook is presented to* (space for the name of the soldier, his regiment and his rank) *on the Mexican Border, 5667—Rosh Hashanah—1916, with the compliments of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.* Twenty-five hundred copies were published in accordance with the estimate of the number of Jewish men to be reached. As it transpired later, the edition fell short of the required number by about 1,000 copies.

Thus prepared and armed with a personal letter of introduction from the Secretary of War to the Commander of the Southern Department, your representative started for Fort Sam Houston, Texas, leaving Philadelphia on Sept. 5. The only instruction he carried was a command from the President of the Conference to co-operate with the other national agencies that were pursuing work among the Jewish men at the Border.

Previous to his departure, your representative had corresponded with the Department of Synagog and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. On his way south, he stopped off at Cincinnati to confer further with the Extension Department heads, and a tentative plan for avoiding overlapping of work was there formulated. Rabbi George Zepin, the Director of the Department, was at that time on the Pacific Coast. It was agreed that Rabbi Zepin and your representative meet in El Paso with Rabbi Zielonka, who had already organized and was doing both religious and social welfare work among the men stationed there, and outline further a division of the labor.

Arrived at San Antonio, your representative was most cordially received by Major General Funston and his chief-of-staff, Major Malvern-Hill Barnum. By command of the Major General, the adjutant General, Col. Omar Bundy, issued an order under date of Sept. 10, to the eight District Commanders east of and including El Paso. This order instructed the District Commanders to place at the disposal of your representative every facility, consistent with urgent military duty, for the organization of services on the eve and morning of Rosh Hashanah (Sept. 27 and 28) and on the eve and morning of Yom Kippur (Oct. 6 and 7). The letter further directed that commanding officers, at stations other than those where services would be conducted, be instructed to permit men to go to those points where the services would be held.

Anticipating the work to be done west of El Paso by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, your representative requested Major General Funston to issue a similar letter of introduction for the Union's organizer to the District Commanders from El Paso to

the Pacific Coast. This request was gladly complied with. Fortified with a personal letter of introduction from Headquarters to the District Commanding Officers, the way of your representative was made easy and most pleasant.

While these arrangements were being perfected under the guidance of Col. Barnum at Headquarters in Fort Sam Houston, your representative had gotten into touch with the representatives of the Army and Navy Committee of the Y. M. H. A. in San Antonio. Rabbi Samuel Marks, of San Antonio, had originated this work soon after the mobilization at Fort Sam Houston, and proved of inestimable service to your representative personally and to the work.

In accordance with the instructions from the President of the Conference, your representative offered to co-operate with the Y. M. H. A. At a meeting in the home of Mr. Morris Stern, the Chairman of the Y. M. H. A. activities, your representative undertook the task of organizing Y. M. H. A. Quarters at the encampments which he was about to visit, where necessary and feasible. As a result of this co-operation, the representative of the Conference was afforded the privilege of organizing the civil communities of Brownsville, Laredo and Eagle Pass, of raising the funds in these towns for carrying on the Y. M. H. A. undertakings, of establishing the Y. M. H. A. Quarters and turning them over to the Y. M. H. A. Committee. Mr. Stern offered his warehouse and his office staff for receiving, packing and distributing the Conference Prayerbooks and Hymnals destined for various points on the Border. The Conference owes Mr. Stern a vote of thanks for this service.

A summary of the work undertaken and carried through by the Conference shows that your representative twice covered the Border between Brownsville, Texas, and Columbus, N. M., and traveled 170 miles into Old Mexico, to Colonia Dublan, by army truck. He visited 15 encampments and organized the Jewish men for services conducted at eight centers, namely: Brownsville, McAllen, Laredo, Eagle Pass, Del Rio, St. Elmo, and Corpus Christi, Texas, and Colonia Dublan, Mexico. Of the men who officiated, two were supplied by the Army Committee of the Y. M. H. A., and one by the Jewish community of Houston, Tex., through the energetic co-operation of Rabbi Henry Barnstein. The remaining five were supplied by the Conference, with the co-operation of Rabbis Henry Cohen, of Galveston, Samuel Marks, of San Antonio, and G. George Fox, of Fort Worth.

The plan of work and organization at the Border was very simple. Wherever the encampment was adjacent to a city with a considerable Jewish population, as at Brownsville, Laredo, Eagle Pass, a civil committee was formed, and the civilian population was organized to co-operate with the military committee and the military authorities.

Where there was no civil Jewish population or only two or three Jewish citizens, as at McAllen, Del Rio, St. Elmo, the military committee was in complete charge.

Jewish men in small encampments were transported by rail or in army trucks to the centers where the services were conducted—to Brownsville, for instance, a distance of over 20 miles by rail, and to Laredo, about 30 miles east and 50 miles west from the town, by trucks.

Where the men from outlying camps came to a town, like Brownsville, the civilian committee provided for their meals and lodging in private homes or in a public hall, where cots were prepared for them. Where they came to a cantonment, the military committee looked after them.

The civilians in the towns were eager to co-operate, both for the religious services and for the Y. M. H. A. organizations. In certain places it was difficult to convince certain men that a rabbi had come to town who was not making a collection. Before the rabbi left the town, however, their apprehensions were verified, because he did make a collection for the Y. M. H. A. Quarters and support, and in Eagle Pass for the purchase of a *Sefer Torah* in addition.

All the District Commanders had been fully apprised by Southern Headquarters of your representative's mission. Nevertheless, your organizer took good care to telegraph the exact hour of his arrival to the commanding officer. The announcement also contained a request to meet, immediately after the presentation of credentials, Jewish representatives of various organizations in camp, especially officers. In every case attention was given to these matters with speed and military precision. In Eagle Pass, the Commanding Officer, General Sibley, was on a practice march when your representative's message reached the camp. When he arrived at Headquarters, however, the men selected by the chief of staff to form the military committee were on hand, awaiting him; and later the General himself, upon his return to camp, set out for the town to call on the rabbi. At Del Rio, a message awaited your organizer at his hotel, requesting him to come immediately to the camp, where, in the absence of General Ruckman, his chief of staff, the chaplain and half a dozen Jewish men were ready for the work in hand. At Brownsville, the only thing that worried General Parker and Colonel Evans was whether the memorandum to be issued should read that the proposed services were for Hebrews or Jews. At the Base of the Punitive Expedition, in Columbus, N. M., Col. Farnsworth, the Commander, said to your representative, "Simply tell me what you want me to do, and I'll order it done", and in Colonia Dublan, General Pershing regretted that a second Yom Kippur could not follow immediately, so

that services might be conducted for the Jewish men in El Valle, the southernmost point of the Punitive Expedition.

These are illustrations of the fine and sympathetic regard with which the officers of the Army everywhere greeted the mission on which you sent your Corresponding Secretary. Every facility from the typewriter to the automobile, from wireless to army truck, was placed at his disposal. Add to this the genuine enthusiasm with which he was everywhere greeted by the Jewish men to whom he was sent, and it can readily be seen how pleasant and joyous his task became.

There were, however, many troubleful hours and not a few sleepless nights, the majority of which were spent on board trains and alongside army trucks. The first blow was struck when he discovered that it would be physically impossible to cover the Big Bend district. This district, covering approximately 600 miles along the Rio Grande, was patrolled by detached outposts, long distances from the railroad. A happy accident and a most courteous Colonel solved this problem.

On the way from St. Louis to San Antonio, your representative met Mr. Geo. A. Reeder, one of the national secretaries of the Army and Navy Department of the Y. M. C. A. In addition to giving your representative valuable information regarding the location of Army camps and means for reaching and leaving them speedily, Mr. Reeder undertook the distribution of the Army Rituals, among the Jewish men in the isolated outposts along the Big Bend through the Y. M. C. A.'s Traveling Secretaries. One hundred Prayerbooks were dispatched to Marfa, Texas, and the secretaries, Messrs. Edward G. Simons and Harold E. Steer, distributed them on their first trip. The number fell short, however, and sixty-seven additional Rituals were forwarded by mail to the men from twelve outposts, who sent requests for them to your Secretary. Col. Barnum, Gen. Funston's chief of staff, wired the commanders of all outposts along the Big Bend to excuse their Jewish men from duty on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. At Presidio, Texas, there were 28 Jews a week before Rosh Hashanah. A great effort was made by wire to assemble these men for a regular service. On Rosh Hashanah, however, all but six were on urgent military duty. The set service fell through, but every Jew who could be reached knew, at least, the dates on which Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur fell, and had a Prayerbook that he could read even on active duty.

The second blow fell as from a double trip-hammer. Your representative had arranged, at El Paso, with Rabbi Zepin and Rabbi Zielonka, to provide the regular edition of our Prayerbooks for the El Paso services, and the Army Rituals and Union Hymnals for the services organized by the Union in camps as far west as San Diego,

and was returning happily to San Antonio, to finish up certain details preparatory to his officiating at Brownsville. At El Paso, however, he had contracted the Dengue Fever, which, he discovered from a physician at his San Antonio Hotel, is called commonly the "Breakbonefever"—and breakbone it really was. While cared for most concernedly by Dr. Sigmund Burg, a physician, and Rabbis Marks and Gerstein, of San Antonio, your representative was bombarded with telegraphic messages and long distance calls from Rabbi Cohen, of Galveston, to the effect that Corpus Christi, where Texas troops were mobilized, must be organized for services. At the same time the information arrived that the 12th Division, containing about 250 Jewish men stationed at Fort Sam Houston, would be on a practice march on Rosh Hashanah; services must be provided for these men somewhere in Texas.

Again, a happy accident, and the same sympathetic and courteous Colonel Barnum came to the rescue. Captain Lewis Landes, of the 2d Florida Militia, the originator of the Army and Navy Y. M. H. A. idea and the Executive Secretary of the Committee, arrived in San Antonio. On the promise that your representative would attend to a certain military matter for Captain Landes at Headquarters, as soon as he got out of bed, the Captain went to Corpus Christi and organized the services there. Relieved of this duty, Colonel Barnum came along with a solution of the second and graver difficulty. He suggested that, if your representative would personally conduct the services for the Jews of the 12th Division in the field, at St. Elmo, he would issue orders to General Greene, commanding the Division, accordingly. There was assuredly nothing to do but to accept the suggestion and trust to God that the fever would subside in time.

In the meantime, your representative had to face the difficulty of providing officiating rabbis. He was already in touch with the Texas rabbis near the Border, all of whom had promised help. The Y. M. H. A. had sent Moses Wilchins, a student of the Hebrew Union College, to McAllen, and B. H. Birnbaum, a student of the Jewish Theological Seminary, to Laredo. Four other rabbis were still to be provided. Several telegraphic and long distance communications settled this matter. Rabbi Cohen sent Mr. Leopold Meyer, of Galveston, to Brownsville; Rabbi Fox sent his brother, Jacob L. Fox, of Chicago, of the First Illinois Cavalry stationed at Brownsville, to Corpus Christi; Rabbi Marks sent Mr. Max Kuehn, of San Antonio, to Del Rio; Rabbi Barnstein sent Mr. M. P. Ostrow, of Houston, to Eagle Pass, the Houston Jewish community making its contribution to the work by defraying all of Mr. Ostrow's expenses.

Cured of the fever, happy over the successful arrangements for Rosh Hashanah, your representative left San Antonio for Austin, Texas, on Sept. 26. Rabbi David Rosenbaum, of Austin, had done

much preliminary work. Captain T. Ross, General Greene's chief of staff, was courtesy and helpfulness personified. On a hill in the center of the Camp of St. Elmo, with a munitions wagon for a pulpit, with a *Hazan Meshor'rim* and a *Ba'al Tekiah* gathered from among the troops and hurriedly rehearsed, your representative, at the services at sunset on Rosh Hashanah Eve and Rosh Hashanah morning at sunrise, experienced the most thrilling spiritual moments of his life.

Returning to San Antonio and reporting at Headquarters, General Funston suggested that your representative might go down to Pershing in Mexico, visit the men of the Jewish faith there, and conduct Yom Kippur services at Colonia Dublan and at El Valle. Receiving an affirmative reply from the President of the Conference, and assuring himself that the same men would conduct Yom Kippur services on the Border at the places designated, your representative obtained the necessary credentials from the Southern Department and, accompanied by Captain Landes to represent the Y. M. H. A., started for Mexico. The reception received from Major General Pershing compensated for the weariness and the dust of the long, truck-train journey.

The Jewish men in Colonia Dublan, however, would not take seriously the unexpected announcement that services would be held for them on Yom Kippur. When the news was read to the various organizations and posted on the bulletin boards, only an hour or so after our arrival, they thought someone was playing a cruel hoax on them. But when the military committee was formed and we visited the various organizations and met the Jewish men, there was a different story to tell. As General Pershing phrased it, "A visit like this to these men is a living message from home".

Every Jew was present at the services, excepting four who were in the hospital, and whom we visited there. Nearly 150 of them gathered before the munition-box, flag-covered pulpit, at sunset on Yom Kippur Eve. Behind them and to the sides, on chairs, on improvised benches and standing, stretched an assembly of over 500 non-Jews, white and black, officers and men, including the chaplains, who came to see what a Jewish service was like. The sun had sunk far behind the Mexican hills when this vast congregation rose as the little group of Jewish worshippers sang the *Adon Olam*.

On Sunday, October 8, at sunrise, your representative, accompanied by Captain Landes, started for home by truck-train, arriving at Atlantic City during the afternoon of the Friday following.

Captain Landes, Rabbi Zepin and your representative estimate that there were approximately 3,500 men of the Jewish faith among the regulars and the Militia on the Border and in Mexico. An effort was made to gather the lists of names of the Jews at each

encampment. The lists that were made for the Conference have been sent to the Bureau of Statistics of the American Jewish Committee.

In conclusion, your representative on the Border and in Mexico desires to express his thanks to the Conference for this trust and the privilege of doing this work, and to the President of the Conference for his untiring assistance in this task, for his constantly cheering letters and telegrams and, introducing the personal pronoun with your permission, for the numerous courtesies he extended, during my absence, to my family.

Respectfully submitted,
ISAAC LANDMAN

The report was adopted by a rising vote and the thanks of the Conference was extended to Rabbi Landman for his work among the Jewish soldiers in Mexico.

The Committee on Social and Religious Union, through its Chairman, Rabbi Chas. S. Levi, reported progress.

It was moved and unanimously carried that the By-laws be amended and that the Committees on Social and Religious Union, On Summer Services and On Jews of Other Lands be dropped from the list of Standing Committees of the Conference.

The report of the Committee on Church and State was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Lefkowitz.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND STATE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Church and State begs leave to report as follows:

During the year 1916-17 five different State legislatures considered bills that contemplated the introduction of Bible reading in the public Schools and in each case a strenous campaign conducted locally, but assisted as far as possible by the Conference Committee on Church and State was successful in defeating the bills. These states were Minnesota, Nebraska, Arizona, Michigan and Florida. In Nebraska the following bill was introduced Feb. 2, 1917:

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Nebraska: It shall be the duty of the state superintendent of Public Instruction to encourage and recommend the study of the Bible in connection with public schools. He shall prepare a syllabus and course of study for the use of pupils who desire to study the Bible. Such syllabi and courses of study shall be placed in the hands of every teacher in the public schools of the state. Every such teacher shall recommend the same to their pupils. Examination questions shall be prepared by the state superintendent which the teachers shall use in determining the proficiency of pupils in Bible study. County superintendents and

school boards shall allow proper credit to pupils passing such examination. The study of the Bible shall be done outside of school hours and shall be wholly optional with pupils and parents."

This bill introduced by Senator Sandalls was never brought out of committee. This was due largely to the efforts of Rabbi Jacob Singer of Lincoln, Neb., who used the pamphlet of the Conference, "Why the Bible Should Not be Read in Public Schools", in his campaign.

In Michigan the Damon Bill, introduced Jan. 25, 1917, in the Senate of that State, desired to make the study of the Bible optional in the public schools, examinations in it provided for and authority to apply credits for it to geography, history, literature or poetry. Senator Damon in the session of 1915 had another bill on the Bible in the Public Schools to make the study compulsory which was not passed. The bill this year was fought very energetically by Rabbi Franklin who very wisely used the occasion furnished by a Public Forum address to create public opinion against the measure. Besides this effort, Rabbi Franklin had the Conference pamphlet sent out to each senator accompanying it by letters of prominent citizens of Michigan. The bill did not come out of committee.

In Minnesota, too, a bill for the reading of the Bible in the public schools was presented, but through the efforts of Rabbi Rypins it did not come out of committee.

In Fort Smith, Arkansas, Rabbi Latz took up the matter of Christmas songs and the discussion of sectarian matters in the public and high schools of his city. Fortunately the Arkansas law is very definite and specific in forbidding sectarianism in any form in the schools. The Conference pamphlet was used in this case and was distributed among the members of the Ft. Smith Board of Education. The board decided to sustain Rabbi Latz in his contention that the songs and discussions complained of were sectarian in their character and according to the law of the state must be eliminated.

In Arizona the following bill was introduced in the House of Representatives:

Any teacher who shall use any sectarian or denominational books, or teach any sectarian doctrine, or conduct any sectarian religious exercises in his school, or who shall fail to comply with any of the provisions mentioned in this chapter shall be deemed guilty of unprofessional conduct, and it shall be the duty of the proper authority to revoke his certificate or diploma; provided, that nothing in the act shall be construed to prohibit reading from any standard version of the Bible without comment or the repetition of portions thereof without comment.

The first part of this bill was the original strong section safeguarding the religious rights of the people of Arizona, the latter portion was introduced as an amendment. Rabbi Zielonka was called in from the neighboring state of Texas to help fight the bill, assisting Mr. B. E. Marks of Phoenix, Arizona, and Mr. Chas. Solomon of Tucson, Ariz. The Conference pamphlet was sent to every member

of the Arizona legislature, the bill was reported out of committee of the Senate adversely early in April and, on the 15th, through the efforts of the above named men it was indefinitely postponed by a vote of the Senate.

In Florida early in the session of the House of Representatives a bill was introduced providing that it shall not be unlawful to read the Bible and hold devotional services in the public schools of the state. This, through the campaign waged upon it by Rabbi Kaplan of Jacksonville, Fla., was opposed by the majority of the members of the House and was amended first so that it would read that it shall not be unlawful to read the Bible in the public schools of the State, and then again amended to read that it shall not be unlawful to read the Bible in the public schools of the state provided such reading be done during the first half of the day's school session. In the shape the bill passed both house and senate, but Rabbi Kaplan succeeded through Senator Farris in having the bill reconsidered, when the promoters of the bill were finally defeated by a vote of 16 to 13. Undaunted the friends of Bible reading in the public schools introduced three other bills on the subject. Through proper interference the bills have failed to come up for a vote and Florida is safe for the next two years. Rabbi Kaplan in telling of the campaign wherein he alone fought the bills urges that the Conference empower a committee or the Committee on Church and State to actively appear on the field and organize the opposition to these constantly increasing Bible bills. The Conference pamphlet was very effectively and largely used in this fight.

The following books of reference are in the Library of the Committee on Church and State to be at the disposal of any Conference member who calls for them:

Religious Freedom in American Education, Dr. Joseph Crooker, American Unitarian Association, Boston, Mass.

Religion and the State or the Bible and the Public Schools, Rev. Dr. Samuel T. Spear, Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y. City, 1876.

Separation of the Church from the Schools supported by Public Taxes, W. T. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C., in an essay in the Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the 42d Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association, pp. 351-360. Published by N. E. A. Secretary's Office, Winona, Wis.

Religious Liberty in the United States, Oscar S. Straus.

Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty, Oscar S. Straus.

American State Papers, issued by the National Religious Liberty Association in 1891, New York and Washington, publ. 43 Bond St., N. Y.

Moral Instruction of Children, Felix Adler, Appleton, N. Y., 1901.

Moral Instruction, Edward Howard Griggs, Huebsch, N. Y., 1904.
The Bible in the Public Schools, "The Minor Case", Robert Clarke, Cincinnati, 1870.

On the 17th of February the Bloch Publishing Co., N. Y., reported to this Committee that 400 copies of the pamphlet, "Why the Bible Should Not be Read in the Public Schools", were still on hand; and now after the calls of the past year this number is reduced to about three hundred which can easily last for another two years. This Committee was charged with the task of revising the pamphlet in preparation for a new edition. It regrets that it can only report progress as the status of the legislation in the various States of the Union on the question of the Bible in the Public Schools is not yet completely before the Committee and the instructions to the Committee were to include such a study in the revised work. It recommends that the Committee appointed next year complete the revision, conclude the studies as to the status of the legislation on this question, enlarge the bibliography and give a more extensive series of quotations of opinions of prominent writers and statesmen on the subject of the separation of Church and State.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman* JOSEPH S. KORNFELD
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT CHARLES S. LEVI

The report was received and adopted.

The Press Committee submitted the following report, which was received with thanks and referred to the Executive Board with favorable recommendation:

REPORT OF PRESS COMMITTEE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Press begs leave to report that it has endeavored, subject to the limitations imposed by an unavoidable lack of facilities, to make public in the secular press and in the Jewish press of the country the more important features of the work done during the sessions of the Conference.

The plan pursued was as follows: Before noon each day a brief summary of the transactions in the course of the morning session was given to the local afternoon papers. At the conclusion of the afternoon session a summary of all the important work done by the Conference during the day was given to the local morning papers and to the Associated Press. A fuller account of the day's proceedings was mailed each day to some of the Jewish papers of the country,

and copies given to those representatives of the Jewish press who were present at the Conference. Your Committee would have preferred to forward the account of the proceedings of each day to every Jewish paper; but that was impossible as the Conference did not provide multigraphing facilities.

Your Committee feels that the matter of publicity has not been given sufficient attention by the Conference. As regards publicity between sessions of the Conference, that is, from the adjournment of one convention to the opening sessions of the next one, the importance of acquainting the American Jewish people with the aims and purposes of the Conference has been entirely overlooked. There is no official channel of information by which the Conference might make a direct appeal, as an organization.

The Committee, therefore, makes the following recommendations:

I That a Special Committee, consisting of five members of the Conference be created, to be know as the Publicity Committee.

That to this Committee shall be referred all matters pertaining to the Conference which the Executive Board of the Conference shall desire to be made known in the Jewish and the secular press.

That the expenses of this Committee incurred in giving general and effective publicity shall be paid out of the treasury of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES A. RUBENSTEIN, *Chairman*
MONTAGUE N. A. COHEN
G. GEORGE FOX

A paper on Some Practical Problems of the Ministry was read by Rabbi Samuel Koch (Appendix J).

A discussion followed which was participated in by Rabbis Harry H. Mayer, Wolf, Philipson, Frisch, Marx, Franklin, Lazaron and Koch.

It was moved and adopted that the matter of the publication of Rabbi Koch's paper be referred to the Executive Board.

A paper commemorative of the Graetz centenary was read by Rabbi Gotthard Deutsch (Appendix H).

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board request the members of the Conference to speak on Graetz and his contribution to Jewish thought on the Sabbath nearest the anniversary.

A paper commemorative of the centenary of James K. Gutheim was read by Rabbi Max Heller (Appendix I).

A discussion concerning the work done by the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy was participated in by Rabbis Landman, Zielonka and Wolf.

It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board be requested to adopt a plan by which the raising of funds for the carrying out of welfare work among the soldiers and sailors may be aided.

The report of the Committee on Thanks was read by Rabbi Wolf.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THANKS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Words are inadequate at best as vehicles for the expression of deep feeling, but they must needs serve. They can only express in a feeble way our deep gratitude to this community for its gracious hospitality evinced in a way that we shall never forget. These are not merely perfunctory words; they come from our hearts. The memory of its innumerable kindnesses will long remain with us.

To those who have welcomed us into their homes and admitted us into the intimacy of their hearths as friends of long-standing, we express our sincerest thanks. Our special thanks are due to the Women's Temple Society of this congregation for the luncheons at the Temple Centre. Although we are members of the opposite sex, we are well acquainted with the amount of labor involved in the preparation and serving of these luncheons.

We express our thanks to the president of this Congregation, Mr. Herman Wile, for his many courtesies and keen regard for our welfare; to the members of the Hospitality Committee, for their successful endeavors to make our stay a very pleasant one; to the Boy Scouts of this Temple for their loyal and manifold services, and to each and every one who has made our visit to Buffalo a delightful one. To the local press which has reported our proceedings in a dignified way, and to Rabbi Charles A. Rubenstein, Chairman of the Press Committee, we extend our hearty thanks. We are obligated to the officers and members of the Temple Beth Zion for the splendid quarters provided for our business sessions and for the opening and Sabbath services and we herewith extend to them our thanks.

But above all, we express our deep gratitude to our colleague and friend, Rabbi Louis J. Kopald, for his untiring personal efforts in facilitating the work of the Conference.

We recommend that the expression of our thanks be conveyed in the customary form to the individuals and organizations herein mentioned.

Respectfully submitted,

HORACE J. WOLF, *Chairman* RAPHAEL P. GOLDENSTEIN
JOEL BLAU MAX J. MERRITT
ABRAM BRILL MAXWELL SILVER
LOUIS HAAS MARIUS RANSON

The report was received and adopted by a rising vote.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by Rabbi Charles S. Levi.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Resolutions, to which was referred the following resolutions, begs leave to submit for your consideration their action thereon:

I

RESOLVED, that it be recommended to the Executive Board that hereafter all writers of papers be allowed but one hour for presentation, the Board to decide as to the number of pages in the yearbook.

LOUIS WOLSEY JULIAN MORGENSTERN
ABRAM HIRSCHBERG MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT

We recommend that the presentation of the paper shall be limited to forty-five minutes, with at least fifteen minutes for discussion.

II

RESOLVED, that the President's message be presented at the opening business session of the Conference.

MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT
ABRAM HIRSCHBERG
LOUIS WOLSEY

Unanimously recommended for adoption.

III

WHEREAS, members of this Conference have been approached by Jewish young men objecting to being drafted for military service and basing their objection upon religious grounds.

Therefore be it RESOLVED, that this Conference give formal expression of its attitude on this most important question.

MARTIN ZIELONKA
G. DEUTSCH
FELIX A. LEVY
LOUIS J. HAAS
M. J. ABELS
MARVIN NATHAN
SAMUEL S. COHON

On this resolution your Committee reports: "While the mission of Israel is Peace and its constant endeavor and prayer are for Peace and Brotherhood among men, yet when one's country is at war in behalf of righteousness and humanity, the individual Jew who claims this hope of Judaism as a ground of exemption from military service, does so only as an individual, inasmuch as historic Judaism emphasizes patriotism as a duty, as well as the ideal of Peace."

IV

WHEREAS, the Central Conference of American Rabbis recognizes the justice of thorough-going democracy, and,

WHEREAS, the Central Conference of American Rabbis recognizes that in a country which upholds democratic ideals and principles, it is unethical and unjust to exclude woman from active participation in choosing the leaders, and,

WHEREAS, the Jewish people have reason to know the hardship and bitterness of unjust and proscriptive political discrimination; and,

WHEREAS, in Peace and War, women have always shown their loyalty, patriotism and eagerness to serve their country in every way possible,

Be it RESOLVED, that we, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, hereby feel it to be our solemn duty as ethical leaders in our various communities, as preachers of a religion which has stood throughout the centuries for justice and righteousness, to assert our belief in the justice and righteousness of the enfranchisement of the women of our country.

HORACE J. WOLF
MAURICE H. HARRIS
LOUIS WOLSEY
I. E. PHILO
ISRAEL BETTAN
A. L. WEINSTEIN
GEORGE ZEPIN
S. H. GOLDENSON
MAX HELLER
MARCUS SALZMAN
LOUIS J. KOPALD
MORRIS S. LAZARON
STEPHEN S. WISE
ISAAC L. RYPINS
MONTAGUE N. A. COHEN
SAMUEL S. COHON
MOSES BUTTENWIESER
JOEL BLAU

On this resolution the Committee is divided, the majority reporting that it be adopted, the minority reporting that this is a

matter of individual decision for the rabbis in their respective communities.

Respectfully submitted,

CHAS. S. LEVI, *Chairman*
E. N. CALISCH
MONTAGUE N. A. COHEN
W. H. FINESCHRIBER
S. H. GOLDENSON
RUDOLPH GROSSMAN
MAURICE H. HARRIS
EMIL W. LEIPZIGER
MORRIS S. LAZARON
LOUIS L. MANN
DAVID MARX
LEONARD J. ROTHSTEIN
NATHAN STERN

Resolution I was adopted.

Resolution II was adopted.

Resolution III was adopted.

The following requested that their vote be recorded in the negative: Rabbis Cohon, Deutsch, Fineshriber, Lauterbach, Felix A. Levy, Mazure, Rypins, Jacob D. Schwarz, Tedesche, Zielonka.

Rabbi Zielonka requested permission to print the following statement explaining his negative vote:

I am not a pacifist nor do I believe in encouraging slackers. I believe that this present war is one of the most righteous that any nation has ever entered into and I further believe that we should have gone to war to protect American honor after the Santa Isabel massacre in Mexico. I furthermore am so firmly convinced of the value and necessity of this war that I have spoken to my Board about the possibilities of my entering the same, and when the registration for conscription took place, our Temple was offered and accepted as a regular registration place. But believing in all this as firmly and honestly as I do, I still believe that we as Jews should protect the honest and sincere conscientious objector who places his objections upon a religious ground. I believe that the eighth verse of the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy can be and ought to be interpreted in this way. I believe furthermore that since the government excuses men from active military participation on account of physical defects, they ought also to take into consideration certain mental conditions which ought to excuse men from service. It is for these reasons that I wish to have my vote recorded in the negative though I am firmly convinced of the need and necessity of this war and I am prepared to do all in my power to bring it to a successful issue.

Resolution IV was taken up for consideration. A motion to adopt the minority report was lost. A motion to lay the whole matter on the table was lost. The majority report was adopted.

The report was then adopted as a whole.

The following resolution was not reported out from the Committee, nor was any action taken thereon by the Conference:

The Central Conference of American Rabbis desires to place itself on record as favoring the immediate regulation of the liquor traffic in the interest of the successful prosecution of the war in which our country is engaged.

JACOB SINGER
HORACE J. WOLF
LEO M. FRANKLIN
ABRAHAM HOLZBERG
STEPHEN S. WISE
LOUIS J. KOPALD
RUDOLPH I. COFFEE
SAMUEL H. GOLDENSON
EPHRAIM FRISCH

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read by the Chairman, Rabbi Morgenstern.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis,

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Nominations begs to present the following names for the officers of the Conference:

Honorary President, Kaufman Kohler
President, Louis Grossman
Vice-President, Leo M. Franklin
Corresponding Secretary, Louis Wolsey
Recording Secretary, Abram Hirschberg
Treasurer, Abram Simon

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Henry Berkowitz
Edward N. Calisch
Henry Cohen
Gotthard Deutsch
Hyman G. Enelow
Samuel Koch
Isaac Landman
Julian Morgenstern
William Rosenau
Joseph Stolz
Horace J. Wolf

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Max Heller
William Rosenau
Samuel Schulman

COMMISSION ON SYNAGOG PENSION FUND AND RELIEF FUND TRUSTEES

Joseph Stolz
Rudolph I. Coffee
William H. Fineshriber
Morris Newfield
Tobias Schanfarber

ADVISORY BOARD OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

Samuel H. Goldenson
Emil W. Leipziger

COMMISSION ON TRACTS

Julian Morgenstern
Morris M. Feuerlicht
Samuel Hirshberg
Felix A. Levy
George Zepin

Respectfully submitted,

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, *Chairman*
SIMON COHEN
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF
ABRAHAM HOLZBERG
EMIL W. LEIPZIGER
ISIDOR E. PHILO
ISAAC L. RYPINS
JACOB D. SCHWARZ
JACOB TARSHISH
AARON WEINSTEIN
LOUIS WITT

The report was received and adopted by a unanimous vote.

The Recording Secretary was instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the officers, members of the Executive Board, and Conference representatives nominated in the report.

Rabbi Rosenau called the newly elected President, Rabbi Louis Grossman to the Chair and turned over to him the gavel with the following words:

I recall very vividly how deeply I was moved two years ago when my predecessor presented to me the gavel. I felt that I would not be equal to the emergency of being at your head. This body is the most representative of all the organizations of

its kind in this country. It has the largest membership of any organization of its kind. It was indeed a pleasure for me to preside during the past two years over your destinies.

I trust that I leave this office with the good will of all, and that I have done my duty.

I trust that I have not been unfair, and if, perchance, I have at any time done anything which smacked of unfairness, I hope that you will attribute it to a faulty judgment and not to an ungenerous heart.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome into this Chair the man who has occupied the position of Vice-President of this organization while I have been its guide and director. I want to say to him that no one is more deserving of the honor than he who is the successor of Isaac M. Wise, our first President. He realizes full well that he must go through a severe discipline, and I trust that, as he goes through that discipline, he will prove himself from day to day all the worthier of the honor conferred upon him. And, colleagues, I thank you for the honor and the co-operation which you have so generously given me both during the year and at our conventions, and now I shall hand over the gavel to our friend, Rabbi Louis Grossman, with the words *hᵃzak we'ᵉmaz*.

Rabbi Grossman replied:

Rabbis and Friends: An officer is a servant. He has been chosen to do a task. He may not suppose, it would be the error of his life to suppose that he can fulfil that task unaided. In accordance with his conception of duty it must be his first thought to ask for aid and co-operation. I do so most heartily, realizing that every word and every act should be representative of the high interests of this body and may involve its destiny as an organization, its prestige and influence in the life of American Jewry.

Your President must be aware also of the fact that a standard has been set for him, and that he must live up to that standard. That standard has been set high by my predecessor, in scrupulousness, in tactfulness, in conscientious endeavor not only to conciliate, but also to invite and hold the good will of every member of this Conference. He has signalized his character by

his splendid achievement as President of the Conference and it will be my ambition to shoulder up to him so far as in my humble capacity I can.

I may add, what he is ready, I am sure, to concede, that all our predecessors in this high office have maintained an equally lofty standard. The Central Conference has had as Presidents men who have given to American Israel the best they possessed. They gave to their service capacities and an efficiency of eminent power. I shall be glad if, in any modest degree, I may be able to emulate them and if, with your assistance, I can perform the functions of the office you have entrusted to me with a like approval from you. The work of the President is under the scrutiny and the challenge of the membership of the Conference and should be. For the trust is sacred and heavy with a responsibility which you bear as much as he. In this sense, therefore, I beg you to consider me in no other way than as a friendly co-operator who is anxious to understand your will and to act in accordance with it. I shall reserve no private judgment, as I wish to preserve no personal preference, and shall put my life completely at the disposal of the high cause in which you have an equal obligation.

In this sense, dear friends, I deem the office an exceptional opportunity and, as Rabbi Rosenau has just said, a great burden. It will be a burden upon my thought, a burden upon my conscience, but never a burden of work, which I propose to do unhesitatingly, and heartily, knowing that you are with me and have given me your confidence.

The closing benediction was pronounced by Rabbi Deutsch and the session closed with the singing of America and *En Kelohenu* by all the members of the Conference.

The Conference adjourned *sine die*.

APPENDIX

A

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK, JUNE 28, 1917

Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:—With the realization of the rapidity with which history is being made in the world today, I should have been delighted could I have waited until this very hour to prepare my Message. Some of the conditions to which allusion shall be made may, even while we are here assembled, be undergoing radical changes, and events of which we do not dream may at this very moment be happening. Whatever lack of exactness marks my portrayal of the Jew's constantly varying status shall, I trust, be ascribed by you to the apparently uncontrollable national and international unrest prevailing everywhere and to the added circumstance that, after all, the information we command has been, for the most part, subjected to rigid censorship.

I almost hesitate to speak the classic Jewish greeting which rushes to my lips, as we are once more gathered together in conference at this, the twenty-eighth annual convention of our organization. I fear lest it might sound like empty mockery in the face of the clash of swords and the roar of cannons, of which it is well-nigh impossible for us to be oblivious. And yet I shall make bold to utter that greeting, because I know that you prize no blessing more highly than that of which the greeting is expressive. Let me, therefore, extend it and may you regard it voiced in all sincerity: *Shalom alechem*—"Peace be to you!"

Though peace to its full extent is now denied, may a sufficient share of it be yours so that, with calmness of judgment and mastery of feeling, you may at least be enabled to discuss the problems which are ours to solve, and, with strength and might, you may depart from this twenty-eighth—*Ko-ah*—convention equipped once more to persevere in leading the people toward the attainment of that which is best and noblest in Judaism and in life.

We, the leaders, must indeed evince and cultivate not only calmness to make our conventions productive of immediate good, but also perseverance to insure the remote fulfillment of Israel's mission. With the whole world engaged in war, we recognize how far removed, despite the constant preaching and planning of world-peace, is yet the dawn of the Messianic era. Swords, unfortunately, refuse to be beaten into plough-shares and spears into pruning-hooks. Every nation lifts up sword against nation and betakes itself to learning the art of war. Humanity does not promise soon to "be holy as God is holy." With the *Mᵉne, mᵉne, tᵉkel, ufarsin* written large and clear by the finger of God, the need of Israel's survival with its ancient message of peace to mankind is all the greater. Israel must continue to be the "priest-people." It must, with every opportunity, prove that humanity cannot live "by bread alone." It must protest for many centuries, in the future as in the past, that human security is annihilated by materialistic considerations. It must proclaim with unremitting endurance: "Not by might nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Had men heeded the lesson Israel preaches in word and deed, the present world-tragedy should never have been enacted. Had they prized religion and all for which religion makes in accordance with Israel's scheme of civilization, there should now be no warrant for the exclamation:

> "O Judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
> And men have lost their reason."

A year ago when we met in conference, ours was the prayerful hope that by this time the much-desired amity between nations might be re-established. How great is our disappointment!

How keen our sorrow over the calamitous lot of nations once standing high in the federation of mankind! The woeful struggle now waged is with you and me and everyone an obsession defying our escape. It is a veritable, ever-present nightmare. Little did we dream, that the United States too would be forced into this world-quarrel. Long and carefully did the present administration of the government plan to keep us out of war. But the whirlpool which was ever eddying round about us dragged us into its depths.

LOYALTY TO COUNTRY

Now that we, too, are parties to the war, our duty is patent. We must pledge our country that love and loyalty which, with the help of God, shall lead it to victory. America, ever standing for a democracy which promises freedom and equality to all, must not be allowed to lose its glorious pre-eminence. Patent as is each man's duty, we, together with the preachers of all faiths, will do only the right if we exhort the people to patriotism, many-sided in its character. In times of war men are needed, not only to fight on battlefields, but also to render service at home. There is no one who cannot do something to strengthen the bulwarks of the nation.

We are proud of the Jews and Jewesses who, unable to perform military duty, have contributed to the popular Liberty Loan. We are proud of the Jewish men and the Jewish women, who are rendering aid by counsel and work on Commissions appointed by the federal, state and municipal governments. We are proud of the Jewish physicians and Jewish nurses who have gone to the front to administer relief to the wounded and dying. But we are proudest by far of the thousands of Jewish officers and Jewish privates who are enlisted in the United States Army and Navy, and who are thus demonstrating their willingness to risk health and life in the defense of country.

As at the time of the Spanish War, the Civil War and the American Revolution, the Jew heroically took his place alongside of his Christian comrade, so in this war he stands shoulder to shoulder with men differing with him in faith but linked

indissolubly to him by those sacred ties which spring from the consciousness of having a common country, a common nation and a common flag.

THE CALL FOR CHAPLAINS

We, as servants of the Lord, are peculiarly exempt from carrying arms. Notwithstanding this exemption, has not the minister a definite place in the battle and in the camps? His is the precious privilege to act not only as regularly-commissioned chaplain, nominated by the regiment, but also as volunteer-chaplain recognized by Army and Navy officers for special work among the men of his particular faith. Hence there exist both opportunity and reason for the appointment of Jewish chaplains who are to lead Jewish soldiers and marines in their religious devotion, cheer them in their disheartenment, comfort them in their suffering and attend them in their death. Jewish men are no different from other men. Every day the fact is established, that at least amid the suffering which comes with war, if on no other occasion, the soldier, no matter what his creed, justly looks upon religion as his staff and stay. Let me, therefore, second the appeal for chaplains from the ranks of our rabbis, which is being made, together with requests for other help, by the recently-created Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy. Some of our rabbis have already offered themselves for chaplaincy activity. The students of the Senior Class of the Hebrew Union College and of that of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who desire to enroll as chaplains, have been excused from further rabbinical training and will be called into service by the aforementioned Board as the need for them arises. However, inasmuch as the number of Jewish chaplains available is not as yet commensurate with the steadily growing emergency and experienced rabbis are needed who know how to deal with men, I hope that the appeal for chaplains from our midst shall meet with ready response.

I

More especially ought those of us take up ministerial work in the Army and Navy who have no families of their own depending upon them.

WORK ON MEXICAN BORDER

What the Jewish chaplain means to the Jewish soldier was eloquently brought home to us last summer and autumn, when a part of the regular United States Army and of the National Guard of every State was dispatched to the Mexican border. The President of this Conference had heard what was being done along religious lines for soldiers of other denominations. He felt that Jewish soldiers, too, should enjoy proper religious care. It was impossible for him to learn whether other national Jewish organizations were in the field, and, if they were, what particular efforts they were exerting in the direction of the results to be achieved. Your President, therefore, undertook for the Central Conference of American Rabbis a project, immense in its proportions because of the limited time and resources he commanded. Whereas the Jewish boys were to remain either in Texas or in State camps over the fall holidays, it was immediately recognized that a Ritual for Jewish Soldiers had to be published, the Jews in the camps had to be organized for religious services, leaders to conduct the religious devotion had to be appointed and a supervising chaplain had to be secured. In order to meet the expenses incurred, your President appealed for contributions to men residing in different parts of the country. In a very short time a handsome sum was realized which was thought sufficient to finance the movement. The money thus secured was put into the hands of the Treasurer of the Conference and drafts were properly drawn on the same for the payment of bills, for all of which our Treasurer will give a full account in his report. As a result of correspondence, which passed between the President of your Conference and the Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War and a subsequent interview between Mr. Baker and our Secretary and Treasurer, the Department of War promised to provide the appointee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis as supervising chaplain with proper papers of authorization to the officers in command of the army stationed in Texas and in Mexico. The required Ritual for Jewish Soldiers was drafted by your President and Corresponding Secretary. It contains prayers for all occasions during the year, supplemented by a Burial Service.

All the material in this Ritual was, with the permission of your Executive Committee, taken from the Union Prayer Book and your Prayers for Private Devotion and was afterwards ratified by the Executive Committee at its meeting held in Cincinnati, October, 1916, as the Conference's Ritual for Jewish Soldiers. Every Jewish soldier received a copy of the book properly inscribed *"With the compliments of the Central Conference of American Rabbis."* When the time arrived for a supervising chaplain to be designated, Rabbi Isaac Landman offered his services. He left for Texas the early part of September. No sooner had he started on his errand when word was received that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations had launched a movement in Texas similar to that of the Conference and that the Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations was doing social service work in the camps. Through Rabbi Landman's good judgment there was no clash, but co-operation between the Conference and the other national organizations. Rabbi Landman not only did our work most conscientiously but also aided in the establishment of Young Men's Hebrew Associations in Texas. With the credentials furnished by the Secretary of War in possession of Rabbi Landman, who traveled several thousand miles along the border, the Conference became the means of establishing religious services in various camps, which might otherwise have been denied them. Rabbi Landman himself officiated on Rosh Hashonah with the Twelfth Division at St. Elmo, Texas, and on the Day of Atonement at Pershing's Column. To his credit be it said, that Rabbi Landman easily gained the confidence of all commanding officers and privates of the various Army headquarters. Upon his return expressions of approval and appreciation for the work done by him came not only from the soldiers and their parents, but also from officials in the Army and the Department at Washington. Our Conference is deeply indebted to Rabbi Landman for helping to plan the religious activity in Texas last fall and for his efficient execution of the work amid difficulties and hardship. I would recommend in this connection, that the Conference

II communicate its appreciation to Secretary Baker for the hearty co-operation he gave us in the work we were privileged to do among the Jewish soldiers in Texas last fall. I

would furthermore recommend that our Conference pass a vote of thanks to be tendered to Rabbi Landman for the readi-
III ness with which he entered upon the service as supervising chaplain and for the unselfishness which marked his every effort in the interest of the Jewish soldiers.

In this connection it may be stated, that if it had not been for the existing exigencies calling for the publication of a Ritual for Jewish Soldiers, we should not have been in the position to supply the chaplain of the Soldiers' Home at Hampton, Va., with a copy of our book, a few months ago, for the purpose of enabling him to conduct a Jewish burial service whenever a Jewish resident of the Soldiers' Home is called to his eternal rest.

JEWISH LEAGUE OF AMERICAN PATRIOTS UNWARRANTED

While commending the worthy purposes which the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy subserves, I feel myself constrained to sound a warning against the formation of separate organizations of Jews for objects other than religious. Such organizations are not only unnecessary, but even dangerous. This is my earnest conviction. Because of it I am prompted to recommend, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis put on record and publish its disapproval
IV of the Jewish League of American Patriots. In times of war men should surely not be separately grouped on the basis of denominational origin or affiliation. The plan is totally un-American. If League at all should exist—and I believe no League is desirable—it is an *American League of American Patriots.* A Jewish League of American Patriots is as unwarranted as is a Jewish regiment or a Jewish political club. We must guard against giving the unfounded impression, that Jews residing in the United States are anything else but wholehearted Americans. We have been misunderstood all too much. Why, I ask, add to the misunderstanding?

LEGISLATION

While the war calls for patriotism of diverse kinds, we must not neglect to pay attention to that special form of patriotism calculated to preserve the ideals for which America has stood since the day that the fathers called into existence our government. It ought not be necessary to declare that nations, like men, if they would glorify themselves, should glory in this, that they understand and know God and His will. Oft indeed bills are proposed, advocated and passed in legislative halls, of the benefits or the detriment of which the people should be cognizant. If benefits accrue from the adoption of bills, the people should aim to make them permanent institutions; but if, on the other hand, detriment results, the people should not hesitate to strive to nullify bills when once they have become laws.

REGULATION OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

A Resolution now before Congress, promising an improvement of public morals by the regulation of Marriage and Divorce laws, is the Senate Joint Resolution No. 34, introduced into the sixty-fifth Congress which reads:

> "Congress shall have power to establish and enforce by appropriate legislation uniform laws as to marriage and divorce; provided, that every State may by law exclude, as to its citizens duly domiciled therein, any or all causes for absolute divorce in such laws mentioned."

We, the descendants of that people to whom the sanctity of the family life was ever the guarantee of the sanctity of the social order, should earnestly join and actively work with other organizations for a nation-wide appreciation of marriage and the defense of the home. I would, therefore, suggest that this Conference resolve to enter, together with the International Committee of Marriage and Divorce and other agencies, upon a campaign of propaganda, which shall in due time help to make for uniform Marriage and Divorce laws throughout the United States.

IMMIGRATION BILL

Prepared as we should be to lend support to the Bill just quoted, we should be no less prepared to change the Immigration Bill now in force. The Immigration Bill has a long and interesting history. In every Congress convened in recent years it was introduced with the emphasis laid latterly on the so-called Literacy Test. While the President of the United States had vetoed it in every previous instance as in the last, the Immigration Bill was passed over President Wilson's veto. There was no want of protest from various sources against its passage. Now that the Immigration Bill with its literacy test is a law, the nation shall have to wait for the future to prove whether or not the Bill is a mistake. Suffice it to say that, the opinion of our law-makers notwithstanding, a bill which takes into account a man's literacy rather than his industry and thrift, as qualification of eligibility for entry into America, runs counter not only to human experience but also to the best American traditions. In order that our shores may continue to be the asylum of the persecuted and the place of opportunity, I would recommend that this Conference, together with other or-

VI ganizations, put forth every possible effort to have the Immigration Bill now in force modified to meet the exigencies which shall arise when the war shall have been brought to a close. It is then that we shall in all likelihood stand in sore need of foreign elements for the development of our resources and the building up of our country and be called upon once more to open our gates to those who knock suppliantly at them for entrance.

While in the main the Immigration Bill is an American problem, it precipitates also a Jewish problem. In consequence of the Immigration Bill—provided it remains unchanged—many of our unfortunate co-religionists shall have to continue their residence in lands limited in opportunities for the support of their families and the preservation of self. God forefend that the time shall ever come when, amid peace, men shall be restrained from seeking a better lot elsewhere than is offered them in an unwholesome atmosphere surcharged with penury, persecution and suffering.

American Jewish Relief

As we contemplate that the opening of our gates is no more than a duty dictated by a sense of humanity and an appreciation of American tradition, there also looms large before our mental vision our responsibility to relieve the suffering now visiting our brethren who live and expect to continue to live in the war zones. We note with pleasure the handsome gifts already made by our people scattered throughout the United States to the Ten Million Dollar American Jewish Relief Fund, the raising of which was launched at the close of the month of December, 1916, at a Mass Meeting held in the city of New York. We rejoice over the activity displayed by the members of our Conference in their own and other communities to make possible the Fund's eventual completion. Although apparently much has already been contributed, much more needs to be given before the Ten Million Dollar mark shall have been reached. It ought not be difficult to get the sum asked, if all the people will do their share both by way of financial aid and personal influence. Ten million dollars for a large and prosperous Jewish population like that found in America is not an exorbitant figure when compared with the two hundred thousand pounds, equal approximately to one million dollars, which English Jewry, severely tried for three years, is collecting for the Jewish war sufferers in Russia. Since it is the privilege of rabbis to stimulate the finer sensibilities of the people, I would recommend, that in one of the sermons to be delivered during the coming high holidays, the present woe of our co-religionists in the war zones be described and appeals for generous contributions to the Ten Million Dollar Fund be again made.

VII

After-War Responsibility

Our people must be made to realize that after the war American Jewry will have to do even more than it is doing now. Rabbi Judah L. Magnes remarked, with statesmanlike wisdom and forethought, upon his return from the Eastern war

zones, that with the establishment of peace American Jewish Relief shall have to be directed toward the reconstruction and rehabilitation of communities which, previous to the great world tragedy, were prominent centers of Jewish culture. Not less than a hundred-million dollars, suggested to be distributed as loans, will then be required. Nor will distinct after-war work have to be undertaken only in foreign lands, but also in this country if, as has often been predicted, hundreds and thousands of immigrants not affected by the Immigration Bill shall be admitted into the United States. Like other immigrant elements, the Jewish immigrant element shall have to be Americanized. The Americanization shall consist not only of social but shall include also religious adaptation. The future immigrant shall have to be made to feel that liberty does not preclude a religious theory of life, but depends on a religious theory of life for security.

JEWS IN OTHER LANDS

Whatever else we may plan to do for our brethren abroad, effort directed to obtain for them in their respective countries full civil, political and religious rights is of paramount importance. It is no easy matter for the average American citizen to keep thoroughly posted as to the effect which quickly succeeding political events, at times accompanied by consequent changes of geographical lines, have upon the status of the Jews of other lands. Let us take a glance at a fact here and there, which declares either the existing or promised attitude of some countries toward the Jew and thus determine to what extent American Jewish intercession is still necessary.

On December 30, 1916, Russia declined to enter into the formation of a new treaty with the United States, among other reasons on the ground of her unwillingness to permit American Jews to visit its domain. While Russia did not say this in so many words, she asserted through her foreign office that there were certain elements of the population of the United States which she felt called upon to exclude.

How different are the conditions which a few months have

brought about in Russia. The Romanoff Dynasty was forced to abdicate. On March 16, a Provisional Government was established making public declaration of an altogether new policy—a policy democratic in its spirit and form. Among the numerous reforms promised were also reforms looking to the improvement of the status of the Russian Jew. Political and religious freedom was granted to all citizens. It was almost too good to be true. Who could help but feel, in the face of the many years of the Russian Jew's oppression, the justice of the telegraphic dispatch, issued at Washington:

> "Absolute equality of Jews in Russia with all others to own property, to reside in any place, to serve in the army and navy, to participate in educational advantages and at the polls, has been proclaimed officially, say advices at the Russian Embassy. Therefore it is understood, that there will be no further restrictions upon the issue of passports to Russian or American Jews, who desire to visit Russia than those common to other persons."

From Baron Gunzberg came by cable the assurance on April 1, to Mr. Louis Marshall:

> "The new government has bound itself to abolish all class, confessional and national restrictions. A decree cancelling all laws and paragraphs adversely affecting Jews will shortly be published."

We, in America, hope and pray that the new rights granted our Russian brethren may never be taken from them. We know it to be the exchange of treatment worse than that accorded brutes for treatment deservedly bestowed on them as belonging to human-kind. We are inexpressibly happy in the establishment of the new Russian regime. We wish it growth and perpetuity. As teachers of American Israel let us speed across the waters to our Russian co-religionists our felicitations on the rights now accorded to them and to the new Russian government the wish that it may be established in righteousness.

With Russia setting the example, who knows but what Roumania too shall be kinder to its Jews, should her autonomy ever be re-established? Reports reach us that signs are already pointing in this direction.

The condition of the Jews of Poland, where the antagonism

between them and the population was so woefully pronounced that it frequently led to persecutions and massacres of our co-religionists, was improved on November 17, 1916, by the grant of new rights. It is reported that under this grant "the members of the Jewish religion will be permitted to reorganize as a religious body." In fact guarantee is given, that no religious tendency can be suppressed by the majority of the population. Thanks to divine Providence for this new tiding, if for no other reason but the effect which it must have had in making Polish Jews forget at least for the nonce their horrible misery, made more horrible by the trials of war.

Profoundly deplorable is the suffering which has more recently been reported as having been visited upon the Jews of Palestine by the Turkish army receding before the British forces. Jewish colonists are said to have been driven from their possessions, their farms to have been devastated and their orchards to have been destroyed. In Jaffa and Jerusalem, more especially, our brethren have been victimized. Their plight is now no less lamentable than has been that of Armenians for many years.

Luckily the Jewish reconstruction work commenced about two years ago in Spain has been growing apace. The welcome extended in the land from which Jews were expelled has brought our co-religionists thither in steadily-increasing numbers. The Jewish communities of Seville, Barcelona and Madrid have been organized. All three of them can now boast of synagogues. February 3, 1917, will be regarded an epoch-making day in Spanish Jewish history, insofar as it chronicles the formal and elaborate dedication of the first synagog in Madrid since the year 1492. In the reconstruction of Jewish life in Spain, the persons most active and untiring are Drs. Max Nordau and A. S. Yahuda.

Along with the opportunities offered Jews in Spain, come opportunities for Jews to settle in Mexico. The Carranza government is reported to have given serious thought to inviting Jews from other countries, more especially from Russia, to take up their abode in Mexico. It is contended that in Mexico, as he has proved himself elsewhere, the Jew cannot help but become a valuable leaven in the general population.

However much the condition of Jews living under certain foreign governments may be improved temporarily, ours must be the ambition to see them enjoy everywhere civil, political and religious rights without any limitation whatsoever. Unless Jews are on a basis of equality with citizens belonging to other faiths, the wrong done them has not been righted.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

In order that the Jew might come into his own, Jews in this country, as well as in England, have organized with a view of putting before the Tribunal of Nations, when peace shall be established, the just claim of the Jew. Those of us who have enjoyed full liberty and equality here and elsewhere and who know what full liberty and equality mean to the human being, realize that ours is the responsibility to make every effort to insure to others our own blessings. For a time it seemed that we American Jews would not be united in the efforts we are to put forth with respect to the preliminary organization to be effected by us. We were "a house divided against itself." The perplexing problem before us was how to bring together the contending parties. Thanks to the leaders of the two sides, the long-existing Conference-Congress discussion appeared to be settled for good. On July 16, 1916, a meeting was held in New York under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of adjusting differences. The Conference of National Organizations was formed. The conferees appointed by it and the conferees of the Jewish Congress Organization Society after a discussion of existing agreements and differences, arrived at a compromise. The compromise was referred and submitted by the Congress Committee to its organizations. It was ratified almost unanimously, 217 delegates voting in favor and only 4 against the agreement. Thus the American Jewish Congress, to which both parties in the old quarrel agreed, was, on November 2, 1916, duly authorized.

It is needless to give a full account of the discussion of details which at this point necessarily ensued and to tell of the many meetings which had to be held by sub-committees work-

ing under the direction of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress. All that needs to be stated is, that an American Jewish Congress is to be held and to be held for the "purpose of defining methods whereby, in co-operation with the Jews of the world, full rights may be secured for Jews of all lands and all laws discriminating against them may be abrogated; it being understood that the phrase 'full rights' is deemed to include:

1. Civil, religious and political rights; and, in addition thereto,
2. Wherever the various peoples of any land are or may be recognized as having rights as such, the conferring on the Jewish people of the land affected of like rights, if desired by them, as determined and ascertained by the Congress.
3. The securing and protection of Jewish rights in Palestine.

No resolution shall be introduced, considered or acted upon at the Congress, which shall in any way purport or tend to commit the Congress as a body or any of its delegates or any of the communities or organizations which shall be represented therein, to the adoption, recognition or endorsement of any general theory or philosophy of Jewish life, or any theoretical principle of a racial, political, economic or religious character, or which shall involve the perpetuation of such Congress.

The calling and holding of the Congress shall in no manner affect the autonomy of any existing American Jewish organizations, but, insofar as the Executive Committee selected by such Congress shall take action for the securing of Jewish rights as defined in the call for such Congress, the activities of such Executive Committee shall, during the period of its existence, be regarded as having precedence over those of any other organizations which shall participate in such Congress.

The Congress is to select an Executive Committee which, in co-operation with the Jews of other lands, shall strive for the realization of the objects for which the Congress is called; such Committee shall continue in office until the expiration of one year after the adoption of a Treaty of Peace whereby the present European War shall be concluded; and at the end of that period, or sooner, if necessary, such Committee shall re-convene the Congress and render to it a final report of its activities."

(I am quoting from a booklet entitled "The American Jewish Congress" and recently published by the American Jewish Committee for an American Jewish Congress.)

It would be superfluous for me to dwell on the plan which

prompted the division of the country into districts and which guided the Executive Committee in determining the number of representatives a district or a national organization is to have in the Congress. Originally it was thought that the Congress could convene May 1, 1917. At a special meeting of the Executive Committee held in New York, April 1, the following resolution, however, was adopted:

> "That the Administrative Committee be empowered to summon the Congress on September 2, but that the Administrative Committee by a two-thirds vote of its members present at a meeting specifically called for that purpose, notice of which had been sent to the members, shall be empowered to postpone that day or to anticipate it."

Nominating conventions were held throughout the country, according to instructions, the first part of May and elections of delegates to the Congress were conducted in all Jewish communities, June 10.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis—one of the many organizations affiliated with the Executive Committee for an American Jewish Congress—was allowed four representatives. Your President, after conferring with your Executive Board by means of correspondence, notified the President of the American Jewish Congress, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in the opinion of its Executive Board, could not accept the representation accorded to it in the Congress, if such representation were granted it only on the basis of $245.00 for every representative having a seat in the Congress, or on the basis of a total taxation of $980.00 for four representatives, the condition stipulated by the Administrative Committee of the Congress. Because the Central Conference of American Rabbis or any similar organization does not command large enough resources to pay the tax intended to be levied for representatives, your President suggested to the President of the American Jewish Congress the advisability of considering the acceptance of representatives to the Congress from rabbinical associations, on the basis of other conditions than those stipulated.

Since your President communicated with the President of the American Jewish Congress, several organizations have for

various reasons withdrawn from participation in the American Jewish Congress. Sentiment in American Israel as to the present fitness of action is once more divided. And it
VIII is, therefore, for you to say whether or not you, as a national organization, wish to be represented in the American Jewish Congress scheduled for September 2.

DEMAND FOR A LIVING JUDAISM

No matter what our duty may be with respect to securing political, civil and religious rights for Jews who are denied them, we must not forget our responsibility to aid Israel as a whole to retain its place in civilization as a distinct religious factor. Many in our midst are not infrequently guilty of sacrificing our religious birthright and with it the privilege it implies. Without the exertion of distinct religious influence on our part there is no reason for our separate survival. Mr. Ralph Philip Boas, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* of February, 1917, on *The Problems of American Judaism,* properly emphasizes the fact that Judaism is and must be no racial movement and clamors for a whole-hearted effort to make Judaism a living faith. Never did call have greater warrant. Judaism, through no insufficiency of its own, but rather through the dereliction of the people, is not the living faith it ought to be and can be. Ours must once more be the set task to effect in man the never-absent consciousness of his Maker, so that man may be properly adjusted to himself and the rest of the world by means of noble feeling, thinking and acting.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

We should be blind did we not recognize that we have not done everything we should have done to have all the people animated by a living, potent Judaism. It matters not what the causes may be which have in this country led Jews here and there into Christian Science. The last analysis points to one primary cause. Everything but the religious in Judaism has been stressed by many preachers. I do not say that in deroga-

tion of honest and earnest ministerial effort, but only in the desire to sound a warning from the angle at which I view the present situation. Once upon a time our fight was confined against Christian missionaries. We were then told that they could be defeated only by their own weapons. Now the fight must be taken up untiringly and judiciously against the Christian Science conversionist. No one will dispute that he is abroad and active. He takes advantage of nervousness, gullibility and ignorance. Many worthy men and women who might have become useful and exemplary Jews and Jewesses have been decoyed from our midst. These we may not be able to get back into our fold, for the policy of Christian Science is to advise its adherents not to enter into argumentation or debate. But ought we not do something to prevent the further entrance of Jews into the Christian Science church? In the work which is thus imposed upon us, the Central Conference of American Rabbis must have the most prominent part. It must be more than a mere organization for the discussion of academic themes and ministerial problems of a general nature. Only in the measure in which it proves itself, through its membership, the dynamo for the stimulation of the people's real religious sense can the Central Conference of American Rabbis assist in the defeat of the inroads made upon Jewish circles by the Christian Science church. I have given considerable thought to the way in which the influence of Christian Science should be met by us. I, therefore, would recommend that as soon as possible a paper should be included in the program of the Conference, which is to tell us in some definite way how to counteract Christian Science propaganda. Said paper should contain:

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(a) An analysis of the unscientific and un-Christian character of Christian Science.

(b) The proof that Christian Science doctrine is not Judaism.

(c) The reason why the Jew joining the Christian Science church should be considered as breaking with the synagog.

(d) The necessity of the visits of ministers to prospective Christian Science Jews for the purpose of instructing them in

Judaism by the comparative method, and for the sake of cautioning them against the mistake made and the break created by Christian Science affiliation.

(e) The employment of means adopted by the Christian Science church in dealing with Jews, as long as these means are not opposed to good and authentic Jewish practice.

After all what the Jew needs who borders on the adoption of Christian Science is the support which comes from information and cheer.

In the meantime, while we are waiting for the paper which shall discuss the practical methods to be employed in dealing with Christian Science propaganda, as the necessary supplement to the valuable study of Christian Science given us several years ago by one of our number, we must not fold our arms in inactivity. Every rabbi should be up and doing the very moment he finds Christian Science active. Let him, as friend and teacher, visit the endangered dissenter or seceder. Let him point out to the prospective Jewish Christian Science convert that there is nothing in Christian Science emphasizing the higher life which Judaism does not furnish and that the leading of a religious life as a Jew is as conducive, and more conducive, to happiness than is the leading of a life as a Christian Scientist.

THE RABBI AS A PASTOR

While treating of the good which might be accomplished in this particular by the visit of the rabbi to his constituent, I feel prompted to say a word with regard to the necessity of establishing a point of personal contact between the rabbi and his people. The great majority of the people of large congregations know their rabbi only officially. Only a few months ago, to cite an instance which might be duplicated many times, one of my friends living in a city that shall remain unnamed and belonging to a congregation which shall also not be designated, remarked to me that she had never met her rabbi. I ask you in all seriousness whether, under such circumstances, the rabbi can be a positive factor of religious unfolding in the life of the constituents of his congregation. I hope that no one will charge

me with endeavoring unduly to stress the need of the pastoral rabbi. My regard for scholarship is too genuine to wish to see scholarship sacrificed. I plead today, as I have always pleaded, for the mastery of the law in its broadest sense by every preacher in Israel. But I also plead no less earnestly for some wholesome and indispensable pastoral relations between the rabbi and the congregation. Let us not forget that we are face to face with a condition and the condition must be met squarely. It is certain that if you and I were lay people, we would not be content simply to sit at the feet of rabbis and drink in their words of wisdom, but at times we would yearn for that occasional companionship with our preacher which would convince us that he is interested in our heart-impulses as well as our mental cravings. The time will come when a rabbi's value to the people shall be expressed, not in the number of lectures he delivers, the classes he conducts and the clubs he forms, but in the religious and Jewish uplift for which he is responsible by his personal touch. Degeneracy, debauchery, defection—aye, disregard of religion and desecration of morals, are defeated more often by the power of personality than by the power of presentation. Oh, that this Conference might make men go home enriched both with the knowledge and the methods which are sure to answer the world-wide demand for a living, a vital religion! Oh, that it might induce them to take up in their respective communities, the keynote sounded here—that what men require most at our hands today, as they did in former centuries, is the belief that "not study but practice" is of prime importance.

NATIONALISM VERSUS RELIGION

Another movement, which in my judgment is calculated to suppress the religious vitality which Judaism should manifest, is one not making itself felt from without, but rather from within the camp of Israel. I refer to Jewish nationalism. I am not here to quarrel with Zionists. Mine is only the intention to declare that we, as rabbis, who are consecrated to the service of the Lord, whose lips are to guard knowledge and from whose mouth the people are to seek the law because we are

messengers of the Lord of Hosts, have no place in a movement in which Jews band together on racial or national grounds and for a political state or even a legally-assured home. Upon us rests the obligation to take up and sound unremittingly the keynote to which the Jew has ever given expression. The religious Israel, having the sanctions of history, must not be sacrificed to the purely racial Israel of modern planning. If it is sacrificed, the religious demand of the Jews of our age, apart from other considerations, cannot be satisfied. The time has come for this Conference to publish the statement that it
X stands for an Israel whose mission is religious and that, in the light of this mission, it looks with disfavor upon any movement the purpose of which is other than religious.

REFORM

Our Conference is the result of that Reform proclaimed by conferences held in Europe and America during the nineteenth century. Aye, it is in consonance with the tradition of our people who, in all the periods of their annals, sought to adapt Jewish thought to the steadily-growing truth and would never allow it to become an anachronism. We have of late, unlike our immortal founder, Isaac M. Wise, not stressed sufficiently the motive which actuated the formation of our Conference. We have even neglected to defend Reform against the many baseless charges which have been launched against it. In this wise we have ignored opportunity and have allowed vituperations to meet with credence. We are, therefore, called upon to emphasize anew that for which Reform stands. I made this
XI statement in my last message and I desire to repeat it. Unless Reform is self-assertive, it is lost. The self-assertion, which I would have Reform exhibit, should partake of the propaganda of proper and efficient organization. Other tendencies are organized. Why should we not be similarly organized? The policy of *laissez faire* works mischief. Affairs religious must not be permitted to take their own course. Let me ask you what concerted action in the interest of Reform exists among us? What special funds do we control? What

speakers go up and down the country in behalf of our cause? What religious journals do we subsidize? Funds, speakers and journals, rendering the proper help to rescue the Reform movement from decline, need to be commanded by us. Reform requires a new impetus. Thousands to whom other interpretations of Judaism mean nothing are ready for the acceptance of Reform, provided they are brought under its wholesome influence.

But in order that Reform may be successful in the appeal made by the Reform rabbinate of America, it must possess Jewish individuality. It dare not be "all things to all people." It must not be exposed to the people's mistrust in consequence of a colorless theology and a characterless worship. It must be thoroughly historical. It must be founded on Jewish principle and make for Jewish aim. To quote a passage from the Scriptural portion of this week: "By the king's highway let us go. Let us not turn to the right hand or the left." (Numbers XX, 17).

Much, of course, depends for achievement in the direction indicated upon the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Equally much depends on the work of sectional organizations, for which the Central Conference should and must ever remain the clearing house. In this connection I beg to call attention to meetings held by two distinct associations of rabbis, membership in which was understood to be obtained by virtue of membership in the Central Conference. The Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis held a series of fall and spring sessions, and the Chicago Rabbinical Association its first Annual Spring Conference on "Religion and the Synagog" in the month of April of this year. Undertakings like these in separate communities cannot but result in the improvement of the Jewish life and in the vitalization of religion among Jews and Jewesses. I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend, that in all large cities, rabbinical associations be formed for the co-ordination of local rabbinical work and for the rabbinical solution of local Jewish problems. I trust that your President is not justified in believing the report, that attempts are being made to extend the privilege of membership in one sectional rabbinical association to rabbis not identified with our organization.

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Such attempts might in time lead to secession and to the impairment of the authority, prestige and good work of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

An inestimable helpful agency in the indispensable religionization of the Jew will certainly be the New Translation of the Bible, issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America with the co-operation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Who knows but what it may in time induce the people to say: "We have sinned against the Lord . . . ; pray unto the Lord that He take away the serpents from us" (Numbers XXI, 7), those serpents which have undermined the natural religious life of the Jew? Our New English Translation is the first attempt made by a company of scholars to obtain a rendering of Scriptures in a vernacular. We rejoice, as the Jews of old in Alexandria must have rejoiced, in possessing a text of the Bible reflecting Jewish interpretation. Among the benefits which shall accrue to English-speaking Israel from this work, in process of preparation for eight long years, that which is of primary importance is the Jew's promised future familiarity with the first monuments of his extensive literature. The Bible can now again be used in the home, school and synagog, both for instructional and devotional purposes. The extent to which this shall be done will in great measure depend on our Conference collectively and every member separately. In order to popularize the new text of the Bible, all biblical selections found in our recently-published Minister's Handbook and those to appear in the new edition of the Union Prayer Book, were ordered to be taken from it. And for the sake of further popularizing the new translation, I would recommend, that the Central Con-
XIII ference of American Rabbis request its members to do their utmost to put the New Bible Translation into circulation within their congregations as a text-book of the religious school and as a ready reference book in the public devotion of the synagog, so that the reading of the weekly Scriptural portions may be followed by every worshipper.

Before leaving this subject I would furthermore recommend, that a vote of thanks be tendered our colleagues, Rabbis Kohler, Philipson and Schulman, for having represented us so ably and conscientiously on the Board of Editors of the New Translation of the Holy Scriptures.

XIV

HEBREW CLASSICS

In the happiness which comes to us from the contemplation that the New Bible Translation is the product of American Jewish scholarship, we cannot ignore the additional source of joy which lies for us in the contemplated issue of the Jewish Classics Series, among the editors of which are Rabbis Kohler, Philipson, Schulman, Enelow, De Sola Mendes and Lauterbach—all members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

EXTENSION OF JEWISH KNOWLEDGE

When once the projected work will be in general circulation, there will be no reason for the lack of Jewish knowledge found among those of our young people who are not masters of the various Hebrew dialects. We are sorely in need of a more extensive and thorough knowledge of our Jewish literary masterpieces. Literature is the body of which the thought of a people is the soul. Many are the causes ascribed for the falling off of Jews from the religion of the fathers; but fundamental to this deplorable condition is the Jew's unacquaintance with his heritage. Judaism is not a scheme of salvation. It is an instructional discipline. Our sages were, indeed, right when they remarked that "the ignorant cannot be pious." Here is food for thought in the planning of curricula for religious schools, in the determination of the number of sessions to be held every week and in the prolongation of the scholastic year, as in religious schools connected with Christian churches extending through the summer. Would that for the purpose of example to smaller congregations as well as for their own good, larger congregations might, because their means permit them, be prompted to put the proper value on the Jewish knowledge to be imparted to their respective constituents!

RABBINICAL PROMOTION

That the larger congregations fall short of being sources of inspiration to the smaller in this and many other respects, is not difficult to prove. They have, in a number of instances, given evidence of their indifference to the greatest possible amount of Jewish knowledge to be obtained by them for young and old, through their preference of young and immature men as incumbents of vacant pulpits, when older and more experienced men, worthy of promotion, were available. Is what an eminent rabbi satirically says in his recent open *Letter to a Young Colleague* really true? "It is an old and now exploded prejudice to believe that in the man that is to preach wider experience *does* count?" (*Reform Advocate,* Vol. 53, No. 15, p. 453.) Of course, youth does not any more necessarily imply the lack of knowledge than age implies the possession of it. In fact, some young men merit the confidence of large communities. They are equal to the task. It is, however, extremely unfortunate that, in general, efficiency and service long on trial should not be recognized by congregations. Since time immemorial it has been good practice in Israel to show every respect to learning. Learning, which was the result of application and experience, was ever regarded among us the highest qualification of rabbinical fitness. What must be the effect of its under-valuation? The disorganization of the ministry, the disheartenment of the faithful servants of the Lord, the lowering of standards of congregations and the injury of our cause! In a single word, the prevailing practice, to which I have just referred, must discredit Reform. Let it be remembered, that the more profound a scholar the rabbi is, the more reliable a reformer he becomes. His teachings, however radical, must in order to have weight be warranted by his information.

Congregations have the right of autonomy and we must indeed conserve their autonomy; but this Conference should not hesitate to express its disapproval of a congregational policy which, in ignoring the service of men as a basis of promotion, must needs be subversive of American Judaism's highest interests. In order to prevent the growth of the manifold danger

which is obvious, I would recommend the Conference's acceptance of the proposition made by its Arbitration Committee,
XV that the Conference keep a record of the men, not only willing to make a change of pulpit but also deserving of promotion to more important positions, and that congregations be importuned to consult such record whenever congregations are known to want to fill pulpit vacancies.

RABBINICAL SUMMER SCHOOL

The worthiness of rabbis to fill pulpits, which may be looked upon as their promotions, leads to the consideration of necessary growing rabbinical efficiency in men who would do the best possible work in the vineyard of the Lord. Praiseworthy as is attendance of rabbis at the Summer Schools of universities, universities but seldom furnish the opportunities the rabbi seeks and needs. Therefore, I would once more call attention to the advisability of the establishment of a Rabbinical Summer School with the aid of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, at the organization of which I but hinted in my message last year, and at the launching of which a resolution to be presented at this Conference shall aim. I would, therefore, recommend, that the Central Conference of American
XVI Rabbis at these meetings discuss seriously how the plan to be proposed looking to the establishment of a Rabbinical Summer School can be effectually put into operation.

COMMITTEES

The work done by the various Committees of our Conference must, when contemplated, prove most gratifying.

The Committee on Publications has looked most conscientiously after the interests of the books we have created and has, during the past year, added the Ministers' Handbook to the Central Conference library. By this time the Ministers' Handbook has reached every one of our members. It represents the efforts of several committees appointed by successive Presidents. The manuscript of the now existing volume was in preparation

four years and, after having been presented to the Conference, was subjected to editorial revision at the hands of another regularly appointed Committee. I trust that I will not be interpreted as encroaching upon the territory of the Chairman of the Publications Committee, when I state that I see the necessity of other literature to be put into circulation by us. What we require is a Book of Penitential Prayers for the unfortunates in penal institutions. Nor should we overlook the advisability of a new volume of sermons—the last volume of its kind with the imprint of the Conference having been issued in 1896. In the course of the last twenty-one years a new generation of preachers has been enrolled, the science of homiletics has undergone a change and new problems have arisen.

XVII

XVIII

The Committee on the Revision of the Union Prayer Book, as the Chairman of the same will report, has finished the manuscript of the First Volume and shall present it to the Conference for consideration. It would be unwise on my part to dwell on the principles observed in the revision, since the Chairman of the Committee will no doubt give a detailed account of the undertaking thus far accomplished. Let me only express the hope that, after the manuscript has been examined by the members of the Conference, the Conference will adopt the manuscript in its present shape, for reasons which shall be specified by the Chairman of the Revision Committee and considerations which will be cited by the Chairman of the Publications Committee. One suggestion, however, I should like to make in connection with the new edition of the Union Prayer Book. Might it not be well to print both in Volume I and Volume II an appendix like that contained in *The Annotated Edition of the Authorized Daily Prayer Book prepared by Dr. Israel Abrahams,* so that they who read our ritual may know something of the origin, authorship and intent of some of the Hebrew parts and of those English portions which are translations or adaptations of Hebrew originals.

XIX

The Commission on Tracts created jointly by the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American

Hebrew Congregations has been, as will be explained by the Chairman of the Committee, seriously hampered in its work.

The Committee on Arbitration has settled the difficulties which arose between two members of our Conference and thus proved its usefulness.

The Committee on Church and State was on the alert also during the past year and has rendered its services in trying to defeat a Bill introduced in the State of Arizona, authorizing the reading of the Bible in the public schools.

The Committee on Co-operation with National Organizations has been, through its Chairman, the President of the Conference, compelled to be most active.

The Committee on Relief Fund and Superannuated Ministers' Fund has administered its trust with unfailing judgment and, as a part of the joint Synagog Pension Fund of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, is taking the necessary preliminary steps looking to the fruition of hopes long cherished. A detailed statement dealing with the history of the movement, the justification of the Fund and the plan according to which the Fund should be regulated was, with specific recommendations, read at the Baltimore Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in January, 1917. According to the statement made then by the Committee, the creation of the Fund is well under way. There is no reason why, with the moral as well as the financial co-operation of the congregations over which the members of our Conference preside, the Fund required to prevent ministers and teachers—their widows and orphans—from becoming dependents, should not materialize very soon.

The Committee on Solicitation of Funds has this year, as in past years, retained old and added new subscribers.

The Committee on Summer Services has co-operated with the Union and thus ministered to thousands of Jews during their vacation, when they might otherwise have been neglected.

The Committee on Religious Work in Universities a few months ago added to its past achievements by the formation of a student-congregation at Cornell University.

APPOINTMENTS

We chronicle with indescribable pleasure the appointment and valuable services of the Hon. Abram I. Elkus as Ambassador to Turkey. Nor can we fail to make special mention of the election of the Hon. Simon Bamberger to the governorship of the State of Utah, and the re-election of the Hon. Moses Alexander to the governorship of the State of Idaho.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

Several events have taken place which deserve recognition at our hands. The American Jewish Historical Society rounded out on April 22 and 23, 1917, twenty-five years of its existence. I would, therefore, recommend that we forward to it, through its President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, the congratulations of our Conference on the completion of the quarter of a century of its life which has spelt accomplishment and usefulness.

XX

The Reform Congregation worshipping in the West London Synagog of British Jews celebrated on January 27, in a quiet and dignified manner, becoming the stirring times through which English Jewry has been passing during the past three years, the seventy-fifth anniversary of its formation. Realizing, as we do, that the congregation in question has worked single-handedly in England for the benefit of Reform Judaism, I would recommend, that the Conference transmit to the officers of said congregation the felicitations of our entire membership, coupled with the wishes that the congregation will pass from strength to strength.

XXI

THANKS

Special thanks are due Rabbis Ettelson and Freehof for writing Holiday Notices with which the Tract Commission supplied the morning and evening press; to Rabbi Philipson and his colleagues for the faithful work done in the revision of Volume I of the Union Prayer Book; to Rabbi Franklin for

inestimable services rendered as Chairman of the Publications Committee; to Rabbi Joseph Stolz for his careful studies preliminary to the contemplated Synagog Pension Fund; to Rabbi Marcuson for editing the Yearbook and auditing the Secretary's and Treasurer's accounts; to Rabbi Landman for his wholehearted interest as Corresponding Secretary; to Rabbi Simon for his unremitting care in safeguarding our finances; to Rabbi Frisch for auditing the stock of the Conference, and to the Bloch Publishing Company for its uniform co-operation and courtesy as our sales agent.

REGRET

Too profound indeed for expression is our regret that our colleague, Rabbi Moses J. Gries, than whom none was more loyal to the Conference and its best interests, retired from the ministry about a month ago on account of ill health. When your Executive Board was apprised of his action, fitting resolutions were drafted and transmitted to him. Although our regret is intense because he shall no longer belong to the official rabbinate, we are happy to know that he will continue as a layman to take an active part in the administration of Jewish affairs. The experience acquired by him as a rabbi will now serve the laity in good stead.

IN MEMORIAM

Again we are made to realize that "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his pious ones." Among those of our colleagues who have been called to the Great Beyond and who will be fittingly memorialized by us are Rabbis M. S. Levy of San Francisco; Aaron J. Messing of Chicago; Joseph Friedlander of Plainfield; and J. Leonard Levy of Pittsburgh. May they enjoy the fruit of the labor of their hands and may it be well with them in the world to come, as they were happy in their chosen work on earth.

PERSONAL APPRECIATION

Before closing I wish to express my appreciation to the Conference for the confidence which it has reposed in me and the co-operation given me during my presidency covering two years. The work has indeed been heavy and the responsibility great. Because of the magnitude of the task and the duties it involves, I would bespeak for my successor in office the earnest support of every one of you. The Conference has indeed grown to be a large institution—larger than many know. To insure its growth and to prevent the work from becoming arrested in its development, every one of us must willingly assume some part of the task.

THE COMMON HOPE

But over and above all, let me give expression to the hope which at this time is strongest in your breast and mine. Whatever else we yearn for, there is nothing for which we crave as much as we do for the speedy re-establishment of universal peace. Would that my successor, when he shall read his message next year, may be able to exclaim joyfully: "Praised be Thou, O Lord, who makest peace!" and invite our body to sing in unison a new song—a hallelujah for the blessings which we trust shall be ours! In the meantime, let us continue to pray fervently in the language of our Prayer Book, as I ask you to pray with me here and now:

"Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou, Eternal Source of Peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace and its advocate in the councils of nations. May contentment reign within its borders, health and happiness within its homes. Strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellowship between all the inhabitants of our land. Plant virtue in every soul, and may the love of Thy name hallow every home and every heart. Praise be to Thee, Giver of Peace. Amen."

B

CONFERENCE LECTURE—JUDAISM AND LIFE

Rabbi Isaac E. Marcuson

There is a Gaelic legend of a hunchback who, making his way across his native hills, was suddenly startled by hearing strange noises in the distance. Going in the direction whence they came, he found that they issued forth from a cave in which satyrs dwelt. Harsh, monotonous tones they were which came forth from the cave. "Monday, Tuesday, Monday, Tuesday", in endless repetition. But as he listened, the sounds wove themselves into a melody in his heart and the hunchback soon found himself singing a glorious strain. And the satyrs in the cave must have had some music in their souls, for when they heard the sweet sounds they were so charmed at the beautiful music which had been made from their discordant noises that they removed from the hunchback his deformity.

To transform the rough discordant notes of life's melody into joy bringing song—to spiritualize life, if you will—if we have at all read history aright, this seems to be and to have been Israel's task in the world. Only, alas, the world has not seemed as grateful as the satyrs in the mountains and has not yet completely removed the handicap under which the Jew has labored throughout the centuries.

If this then be Israel's mission—to idealize life—may it not remove much of the fear that seems to fill the hearts of some of our leaders in regard to the conclusions which modern thought and discovery have forced us to accept concerning our history and our literature?

We appreciate the work of the artist none the less because he does not create the canvass and the pigment which go into the painting which is destined to bring joy to generations yet unborn. The sculptor finds his material ready at hand from which he is to form with his genius the work of art; it is because a

Thorwaldsen can change a rough and rugged cliff into a Lion of Lucerne that we call him inspired. What matters it then whether Babylon or Egypt, whether Persia or Assyria was the quarry from whence the marble came which the genius of the Jew was to hew into the tablets of the law and write thereon the eternal words of religious truth for mankind?

To us today, as Jews, the great fact of Israel's history lies not in how the Jew came to Palestine nor yet whence—we can safely leave to our scholars the task to determine this—to us the vital fact is, that the Jew transformed the idolatry and immorality which he found there into a religion of righteousness and that he was able to remould from a base and corrupt *Baal* a thrice holy *Yahweh*. Like unto the artist who, seeing a block of marble which another had cast out as worthless, called unto his helper to assist him to carry it into his workshop, "for I see therein a god and would hasten to cut it into form," so Israel has ever seen in the crude religious fashionings of the nations the possibility of divinity and throughout the ages has striven to develop and perfect the vision which life has formed for him. For the Jew has been the one to perceive, in the words of a writer of our own day, William James, "how soaked and shot-through life is with values and meanings which we fail to realize because of our external and insensible point of view."

If this, then, be entirely true, and the failure of the world to see how soaked with value life really is, be due to the fact that the viewpoint is external, I wonder sometimes whether the ingratitude of the world of which we complained before has not had in it for us something of value. A writer of our day said, "Look what the Jew has accomplished with his hands tied behind his back. What would he not have achieved had he been free?" Physically, yes; materially, perhaps—but spiritually, to bring out those values with which life must be shot-through to give it worth—perhaps the Jew, like the hunchback in the legend, was able to weave the discordant notes into melody because his infirmity kept him aloof and caused him to wander in the high places of life.

How to preserve or rather how to re-awaken this spiritual life valuation—this life idealization of the Jew—must be our en-

deavor today. For the external point of view is more than ever taking hold of the world and particularly of the Jew. Our people are taking too literally the interpretation of the rabbis when they tell us that the blind and the deaf and the lame who came to Sinai on that great day of the awakening of the spirit and the revelation of the moral law went away healed. And they see no higher or greater function for religion than to cure them of their little pains and to heal their petty physical infirmities. They become self-centered at a time when the foundations of the earth are rocking and men are crying, not for a surcease of physical pain—they are enduring that gladly and willingly enough—but that through this suffering and this pain the thunders of Sinai and the trumpets of God may awaken the hearts and souls of men so that the spiritually blind and the morally deaf may be healed and truth and righteousness may again be firmly established on earth. And even from the great struggle that is going on in the world there seems to be born this hope—let the cause that produced it have been ever so selfish and the motives basely commercial, there has been created a broader and more altruistic aim, and today the battle is being waged for the liberation of mankind, for the freedom of the world. Now is the time for us to make our own people realize that this is what Israel has ever been struggling for; to make our men and women realize that all the labors of the past are not and have not been in vain, and in like spirit the sacrifices of the future will also bring rich reward in spiritual gain.

In order to do this they must be brought into touch with the past; there must be recreated for them the atmosphere which made willing martyrs of former generations.

You all recall that story in the Book of Kings where they were burying some man when a band of marauders came along and the corpse-bearers cast the body into the tomb of Elisha, and when it came into contact with the dead body of Elisha it revived and came back to life and stood up again. Anyone, even so lowly that he shall pass unnamed, coming in touch with the glorious prophetic past must feel himself revived, must feel himself inspired to take upon himself once again life's task and life's burdens. Judaism today, like the seed falling from a parent

plant, may seem to lie dormant and appear to be dead, but it will live if properly nourished. Whenever in the past there seemed to be a weakening in the ranks of Israel, it was education that revived the drooping hopes and failing courage, it was a study of the past that made the Jew learn to hope again for the future. Little did the Romans dream when they permitted the establishment of the school at Jamnia that they were perpetuating that which they believed they were completely blotting out. More than that—not only did they furnish the means for the perpetuation of the Judaism of their day, but they taught us the more useful lesson that knowledge was the secret of the survival of Judaism. Whenever Israel's feet faltered on the way, whenever it seemed he was no longer able to proceed upon the journey; nay, when all thought Judaism dead and were ready in fear to cast it into the first convenient tomb without even the privilege of a decent burial, it would come into contact with that prophetic spirit of the past and draw new strength and new inspiration from the old interpreters of our faith and take on new life for greater usefulness.

But not only must we learn the past, we must learn to heed the lessons of the past. Only when the Jew was true to the high demands which Judaism made did he prove an inspiration to humanity. David clad in the armor of Saul was helpless and could scarcely move. With his own simple shepherd's sling he was able to slay the giant who threatened and opposed the whole host of Israel. It is well for the Jew to be cosmopolitan—it is well for him to adopt the best in the civilization round about him—aye, in this day of intense patriotism, let us be truly American, but, as Prof. Friedlander has well pointed out, let us be sure that we adopt the best and not the superficialities. Let us look over the field carefully and see whether perchance we have not more to contribute than we need take—whether the shepherd's staff is not more needed than the shield of brass. Let the Jew become so conscious of the meaning of our faith and its dreams, let him become so soaked with its value to life,

> "That trust in all things high
> Comes easy to him, and tho' he trip and fall
> He shall not blind his soul with clay."

There is a legend which tells us that upon the summit of a high mountain were placed crowns symbolic of religious faiths, and into the hands of the adherents of these faiths were placed baskets, and they were told to gather up the jewels which were plentifully scattered on every side and which were to be used to adorn the crowns. But as they began to fill the baskets and to climb the steep mountain side they found that they were heavy and that mounting became burdensome and so some threw away the gems which they had gathered, deciding that they would wait until they neared the top when they would gather enough to adorn the crown of their faith. But as they neared the summit they suddenly noticed that the jewels were fewer in number, that they were of less value and were lacking in luster and beauty. And some tried to turn and climb down to lower heights, for they desired beautiful gems for their faith. The path which they had trod had crumbled behind them—return was impossible.

Into our hands our fathers have put the baskets containing the gems which they have gathered for many generations and carried upward regardless of effort, indifferent to its sometimes crushing weight. In it are jewels of priceless worth to adorn the crown of Judaism. Shall we now throw it down when they have carried it so far, or shall we make a last effort and try to take it to the summit and set these priceless gems where they will forever adorn our faith?

We are urging our people to do intensive farming, to cultivate their home garden plots as a sign of their patriotism and to keep off famine and hunger from our land. It seemed to me that we should start a campaign and see whether we cannot show the house of Israel the need of just such an intensive cultivation of the spiritual waste places in their homes to ward off what I believe is more serious than a food famine—a famine of the spirit. In the words of the Psalmist, let them cultivate the bread "that stayeth man's heart." For the famine which is most serious among us is "not a famine for bread or a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord."

In spite of all this I do not believe there is cause for despair. Progress has been slow. We seem to be making little headway.

But scientists tell us that heavenly bodies move more swiftly as they near the sun—that it is only when they are far from the source of light that progress is slow. Is it not likewise true with man? As he gets closer and closer to the truth he will go faster to the goal which lies before him.

It will be our task to bring home to our people, and especially to our young people, the responsibility of the Jew in the present crisis. Nor will it be easy to perform. Most of us have not been so fortunate as the speaker who recently declared that he found the young people hungering and thirsting for spirituality. Most of us have found them rather "spending money for that which is not bread and their gain for that which satisfieth not." But has the fault been entirely with them? Have we ourselves come to any definite conclusion as to what we shall offer as the goal towards which they should strive? Have we not unduly emphasized one or the other side of "the doing of justice and loving of mercy and walking humbly with God" until at times both the justice and the God seem to be dropped as useless? Well has it been said, "when any of these elements pretend singly to redeem life from insignificance" it is time to drop it.

What answer have we then to offer to the challenge recently put forth by a writer when we asked: "Are the Jews of any religious value at all? Is not their supposed contribution an illusion? If it is not, what is it?"

When our young people read a challenge like that and cannot answer, aye when their souls cannot answer within them, then we understand why men cry out in bewilderment, "Why cannot religion lead men to offer themselves with that heroic self-abandonment that is exemplified on thousands of miles of trench-lines?"

Friends, we are told that when the great navigator Magellan started from port and was sure of his course, he displayed four lights which was a signal for the other ships to set full sail and follow fearlessly after him. If our young people are to be thoroughly convinced not only that we know whither we are leading, but that they can safely put up full sail and follow after us, we, too, must show the lights which to them will be a sure

signal. Just as, in the past, it was the idealism in Judaism which preserved it, so in the future if Judaism is to be preserved it must be by awakening in our people the idealism which to me seems to be the one thing worth preserving in Judaism. To our ears today come sounds of hate and greed and discord—brother arrayed against brother in deadly combat. To change these discordant sounds into the sweet melody of peace—to show our faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Justice, truly this is the real task of Israel during these times. Well did the rabbis of old establish the world upon Truth and Justice and Peace, but even above these must be the torch of the eternal faith in the living God. Upon the ship which Israel sends forth these lights must shine forth high upon the masts and the Jew must be urged to follow under full sail with the confidence that "He who hath the steering of thy course, will direct thy sail."

With these lights displayed and the signal clearly understood by our people as the guide which has directed Israel in the past we can hopefully turn to the future. In touch with this wonderful past, realizing that from it must come the strength and the inspiration which shall guide and direct, we will journey on assured that as soon as the Jew again becomes filled with the deep God-consciousness that produced the prophetic vision and turned David's sorrow into the eternal music of the psalms, there will again arise in Israel men whose souls shall be attuned to the high thoughts that in the past has made the Jew the alchemist of the nations turning rough discordant views of life into ethical and moral truth.

Mourn not for vanquished ages,
With their great historic men;
Who dwell in history's pages,
And live by the poet's pen;
For the grandest days are before us,
And the world is yet to see
The noblest work of this old earth,
In the men who are yet to be.

C

SOURCES OF SPIRITUALITY—CONFERENCE SERMON

RABBI ISAAC S. MOSES

Numbers XIX, 2

I

In many quarters the desire is expressed for a definite form of religion. "Tell us, you leaders, what we should believe, give us positive assurance of the reality of our faith," *zoth ḥukath ha-torah*. For most people religion means a body of doctrines, a system of ceremonies, functions, prayers, hymns, assemblages—all outward things, not touching their inner life. Others, who have outgrown this material view, identify religion with righteousness and demand a new setting and a new definition of religion. All attempts to standardize religion after one or another pattern, or creed, is a futile, a useless presumption. I want to make it clear at the outset that no man, or group of men, can formulate a creed that will express the conviction of anyone outside the man who framed it. It is an impossibility. Man is the most differentiated being on earth. He must not be counted by the dozen or classified by droves. Each man is a distinct individuality. A million human thumbs may leave their impressions; each impression is recognized by the expert as the signature of a particular person. It is the same with the impressions of the mind. Each mind acts and reacts in its own peculiar way, and no two minds work exactly alike. How then can one man, or a number of men, define for others what should be the exact and final form of their intellectual, moral and spiritual attitude? And as no one can make a creed for any other, except

for the broad generalities, so no one has a right to exclude anyone from a religious fellowship to which he feels himself attached. Are there, then, no standards of belief, no tests of religion, no acceptable statements of faith? Plenty of them! Only that none can express your own real, personal faith in all its completeness, your own inmost religious convictions. For the test of these is not a statement of belief, but your very life. Not what you profess or persuade yourself to believe is your religion, your creed, but your life, and your life alone.

Of all things in this world only those have value that touch us individually, personally. A million men might die on the battlefields of Europe, and the story of the agonies of the wounded and the dying will make pathetic reading at our breakfast table. We are horrified. We exclaim: "What a pity, what a crime against humanity. Oh, how sorry we are!" Yet the expression of our feelings is not only superficial, but in some measure untrue. We believe that we are sorry, that we sympathize. But should one of our own beloved be stricken, a child, a parent, a beloved wife or husband, our hearts writhing in agony at seeing the precious life ebbing away,—we need not assure anyone that we are sorry, that we sympathize. Our very soul is touched to its inmost depth.

It is the same with our religious life. Our declarations of belief have no value until we have found in the depth of our soul, by manifold experience of life, the truth of our profession. For religion is not assent to a logical statement, it is not compliance to forms of worship, it is not even a decent regard for the proprieties and restraints of the moral code. It may include all these, but is not identical with them. Religion is the spiritual attitude of man toward the universe. It is the hunger of the soul for that larger Life, of which it feels itself a part; it is the yearning of the inmost being in man for that Infinite Being by which it feels itself surrounded. For man, as man, whatever his physical origin or condition may be, is a spiritual creature, and can be judged only from a spiritual point of view. When we say: Man is the child of God, this is not a mere figurative phrase, it is literally true. When the Bible says: "God took dust from the earth, and formed man in His image and breathed

upon him the breath of life"—this statement contains a biological truth. Consider the wonderful process that is going on before our very eyes. Take up a blade of grass. The green moisture that oozes out between your fingers is the blood of the plant. This magic fluid has the faculty of drawing dust from the earth and transforming it into the living tissue of plant and flower and tree. It is akin in composition and in function to the blood of all animal organisms, running through the entire kinship from plant to animal; and, changing in structure and appearance according to the needs and environment, this vital principle builds up in mysterious ways the wonderful forms of life culminating in man, the seal and key to the Master's work.

Oh wondrous being, man, thy face is a reflection of that hidden Countenance whose lustre shines through the universe, the Countenance of Him whose Spirit holds and enfolds the world and its fullness. So the Psalmist (CXXXIX) sings in rapturous wonder at the greatness and uniqueness of man: "I praise Thee, O God, when I consider how greatly Thou hast *distinguished* me, the most marvellous of all Thy works." How do I know this? *We*nafshi yoda'ath me'od, "in my inmost soul I feel it: God is my Father." "My substance was not hidden from Thee when I was fashioned in obscurity, when my pattern was woven in the nethermost depths of the earth. Thine eyes graciously looked upon my unshapen body, and in Thy Book my destiny was written, all my days appointed, ere one of them existed." And another poet sings (Psalm VIII): "When I consider Thy heavens, the works of Thy hands, the moon and stars which Thou hast established—greater than they is man of whom Thou thinkest, the son of man for whom Thou carest! For Thou hast *favored* him, *wat*ehasse*dehu,* to be almost like God, and hast crowned him with *glory* and *beauty,* in that Thou madest him ruler of all Thy works!"

II

The story of man's rise runs from the lowest depth of animal life through all the intermediate stages and transmutations from beast and brute and savage to the full measure of tamed and

trained and sweetened humanity—who can think it out, who can fathom all the intellectual grandeur, all the depth of human love, all the sweetness and charm of human beauty! And yet the rich fruitage of this humanity is only the beginning. We all thought that man had reached the full height in this nineteenth or twentieth century. This cruel war shows that we are still in our infancy. Dark though the vistas are of man's past, darker still are the shadows that hover over his future. What that future will be no one can forecast. Even physically man is just at the beginning; even physically there is possible the development of a figure strong and beautiful as well as kind and wise. We know not what stature man shall reach, because the world process has not come to an end with the twentieth century, the cosmic process is going on still. There have been seers, sages, poets, artists, who have seen glimpses of a higher type. The artist looks into the future; he beholds a face coming, coming, a face more beautiful, more divine, with incarnate sunshine playing on cheek and chin, with lips like rosebuds, with eyes sparkling, reflecting the greatness and beauty of the universe—for the Divine Energy is chiseling and modeling channels and organs of revelation. But unlike the human artist who adds beauty of line and color to lifeless material from without, the Divine Artist is moulding and unfolding from within the light of knowledge, the power of love, the enchantment of beauty in the frail body of human flesh.

How can we account for the might and majesty of the human intellect, for the depth and breath of human love, for the sweetness and infinite charm of human beauty, without the Divine Life that makes for this glory, and righteousness, and love in human life? "Surely the Spirit of *God* is in man: *ruaḥ Elohim bo'enosh*, and the breath of the Almighty giveth understanding." For these spiritual excellencies and distinctions are but the response of the soul of man to the Soul of the universe, the answer of the inmost life of man to the Infinite Life of God. Without the light of the sun there would be no eye to see, nor tint or spray of color. The sun's rays that paint the plumage on wing of bird and leaf of flower, created that most delicate, most wonderful organ of vision, the eye. So the human intel-

lect, the periscope of the soul, so human love, the hunger of the heart, so the ecstasy of the mind under the spell of the sublime and the beautiful—these spiritual functions are the reaction, the response of the human soul to the soul of the Universe.

How do we come to know the deeper, the higher knowledge and thought of God? God reveals Himself to man only in man. If you want to know how God speaks, if you want to know the wisdom of God, you cannot find it on the mountain top, not in cave or cavern; you can find it only in the human life. Then we must study human life. When we say "God speaks", it can only mean that He speaks literally through human organs, that He looks upon us through human eyes, that He draws us to Him in human love. For of Him, the Highest Wisdom, the Infinite Love, the Perfect Beauty, we can know nothing except through the channels of our own inmost spiritual life, and that life opens its fountains to us in the depths of human experience. As in the fountain is reflected the image of the stars invisible in the glare of daylight, so in the depths of the soul is revealed the image of Him who is the Life and Love of all beings.

III

In their desert wanderings, we are told in this week's lesson, the children of Israel came to the famous well which the princes and leaders had dug with their scepters and staves, singing in gladsome refrain: "Rise, O well, respond ye to it, rise, O refreshing draught, fill us with joy." Thence they went to Mattanah, from Mattanah to Nahali'el, from Nahali'el to Bamoth; from Bamoth into the valley. Every human soul, at one time or other, in its desert pilgrimage, comes to the well-spring of experience from which it must draw the true knowledge of life. For life, even physical, with all its struggles, passions and flesh hunger, is a great gift, a Mattanah. How beautiful and enchanting are the surprises of every new born day to young lives! Sunrise and sunset, mountain height and silvery lake, love and ambition, trials and triumphs—ah, who does not feel the thrill, the joyousness of the fleeting hours—every day a new gift. Who will

say that this is not a gift worth striving for? We older ones rejoice to live over in memory those fleeting, fugitive hours when we found life so beautiful—and still in its reminiscence it is fine and noble and good.

From this physical, this natural life, we must rise to the understanding of the higher values, the spiritual meaning of life. For physical life is only the opportunity; there come experiences of a deeper sort, that teach us that without the divine element that has been moulding and shaping and creating this infinite beauty in wing and foliage and human flesh, human life has no meaning; and, with the divine power it becomes a divine heritage, *naḥali'el*, which we bequeath from generation to generation. This heritage comes to us only through the deepest, holiest experiences. Life receives a new spiritual and ethical meaning.

We say "God is merciful, therefore must we be merciful; God is forgiving, therefore must we be forgiving." The Psalmist says: "Like a father pitieth his children,—like a human father pitieth his children,—so does God pity those who fear Him." He does not say, "Like God pitieth those who fear Him, just so shall man pity his children." It is God who takes the example from man—because we have no other way to fathom the love of God.

I read the other day this story. In a group of exchanged prisoners was a German officer who had been severely wounded and left as dead on the battlefield by his retreating company. When about to be thrown into the ditch, the common grave of hundreds of slain enemies, a merciful ambulance-carrier noticed that there was still some life left in that mangled body. After many months of suffering he was sufficiently patched up to be exchanged, with others like him, for an equal number of French victims of this horrible war, as utterly incapacitated from ever bearing arms against one another. There on a bench in a park in Switzerland sat the once proud and stately officer, haggard, worn,—a shadow of his former self, with a festering wound in his body and a still more poignant wound in his heart. In private life he had been a prominent lawyer, of high social standing, the husband of an affectionate wife and father of a

darling young boy. At some social function he fell under the spell of a charmingly beautiful but perverse young woman. Of all her many admirers she drew him with consummate skill into the net of her enchantment. The fleeting attraction grew into a passion, into a consuming fire. Then followed scandal, domestic unhappiness, ugly scenes, recriminations, divorce proceedings. Then suddenly came the war. Summons to join his regiment reached him while he was away from home. He had just time to call up his home, to tell that he is leaving, to ask that his boy be lifted to the telephone, and to hear the tiny voice answer his farewell words with "Goodbye, Daddy; come back soon, Daddy!" Thus the two parted. The man to fight, and amidst the din of war to forget the conflict of his soul; the woman to grieve, to fear, to hope.

Then came the news of his death. When she read his name in the list of those fallen in battle, she became calm, even content. Many months passed. And now she learned through a friend of his internment in Switzerland. A sense of duty impelled her to go to him. Happy throngs passed by and looked at the pitiable figure in the faded uniform; little children were playing in front of him; along the path between rows of shady trees he sees a slender woman in black approaching, leading a little boy by the hand. How strange! The boy looks almost like his own darling at home. Nearer they come. The boy has recognized the father; he runs forward, into the arms of the astonished man: "Daddy! Daddy!" So the twain meet again. Calmly the wife stands before him. Not a word is spoken. They sit down on the bench while the boy joins the children in play. At last the man says: "I thank you that you have brought the child; I thank you also, that you have not poisoned his young heart against his father. Apparently he knows nothing of our tragedy." "No", said the wife, "he does not know. I have come to tell you something ere we part for life. You know we all thought you dead. A strange feeling came over me when the notice of your death was announced. All bitterness and anger left my heart. In the long, lonely hours I forgot all the bitter words we have spoken to each other. I began to think of you only as you were when we first met, and when we lived happily

together. I have constructed such a beautiful picture of you in my heart, and will not have it marred by the terrible reality. I want you to know before I pass out of your life, that I harbor no anger nor hatred against you."

Like tongues of fire the words are burning into his soul. Down into the dust upon his knees he sinks; with trembling hands he clasps the knees of the quiet figure before him; with choking voice he exclaims: "Oh, thou saintly woman! I have braved the murderous foe, I have looked death calmly into the face, but your words are like the crushing blows of the heavy cannon. I am overwhelmed with shame. Look upon me. You have forgiven the dead husband—forgive the living one; let me make true the image of the man you have enthroned in your soul!" As she bends down and kisses those quivering lips, God was in that kiss, Divine Love spoke the pardoning word through the mouth of that simple, loving and forgiving wife.

What dogma, what creed can give us the assurance of God's love unless we fathom it in the depths of our own souls? They say that every day we must forgive our enemies, and even love them. Go to France and England and Germany and see how they love each other, how they apply that creed that we shall love each other because we are children of the living God. They have it not in their own souls, they have not experienced it, therefore is ugly hatred filling the world.

There are some souls who have grander outlooks than the present, the material; they rise to higher altitudes of spiritual vision. They see God face to face, like Moses on the heights of Moab, like Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, like all great founders of religions. From those heights they look upon toiling, struggling humanity, and bring down to them the law of life, the message of the eternal law of righteousness.

In a measure each one of us can rise to such heights of spiritual life. We look for the miraculous, the mysterious, as manifestations of God, we overlook the nearest and most intimate relations of human lives as the only and truest channels through which courses the divine life.

Last January, while attending the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, I was assigned the honor of

dining in the home of a prominent Jewish family—let us call them Cohen. The mother—ambitious, attends popular lectures on philosophy and literature, the son and daughter are college bred, the father is but a plain clothing merchant; conversation runs on topics of the convention, on plays, and on the popular wave of Tagore lectures. None of these topics interested Mr. Cohen. I tried to converse clothing with him; he was bored. After dinner we strolled through the magnificent house. I admired some fine paintings. Whereupon Mr. Cohen took me upstairs into his own rooms. "I will show you a picture that may interest you," he said. He showed me a photograph of his mother, a good, kindly old face, a fine type of a German-Jewish mother. He turned the photograph; on the back was a letter of the mother to her children, but especially directed to him, the eldest son. It was her last will. She had nothing to bequeath, poor old soul, only to ask. As I read the quaint writing with reverent expression, how she exhorted the children to hold fast together, to be faithful to their religion, to continue the various charities which she performed through their munificence, and especially asking her oldest son to take good care of the youngest brother, a sickly boy. I saw the deep emotion welling up in the eyes of this big, plain, unlearned man. "Do you know, rabbi," he said, "I look at this picture every morning before I leave the house, and I greet it every evening. I have read this letter ever so many times; it is my Bible and my prayerbook. When I am in doubt about some great enterprise I go to my mother's picture and I converse with her. And, would you believe it, it often seems to me as if she was speaking to me. I hear her voice, I see the twinkle in her eyes, the smile on her lips. You are the first rabbi to whom I tell this. I have not had much Jewish training. As a boy I attended a Methodist Sunday-School, because there was no Jewish religious school in our little town in New England. I cannot attend divine services very often. Friday evening I am tired, Saturday I have no time. But when I do go, on the great holydays, my thoughts are not always on the service. I am thinking of the simple prayers my mother used to read with me when I was a child. For all that, I think I am as good a Jew, if not better, than many others

who have so much to say about our religion." May there be many like him in Israel! That man feels the reality of religion in the deepest, holiest, tenderest experience of his soul.

IV

We talk about immortality as an article of faith. Many a person of uncouth, shallow mind says, "No one has ever come back, no one has ever told us how it looks there in the far beyond, in the hereafter." Why hereafter? We are in eternity now. If you wish to see the sainted ones, look at the picture of your father and mother. Nay, look at father and mother while they are alive; show them honor and reverence, and God will speak to you with the eternal voice of love. Oh sons and daughters, you who would erect monuments for your departed parents, who cry, "Oh God, show us that our dear father and beloved mother have special seats in the palace above, that they are well taken care of"—look at the pictures of your beloved ones and see "Immortality" speaking through them into your soul. Yea, dear friends, Israelites, look at each other, look in the mirror. What does your face betoken? Does it show you vulgarity, does it show you sordidness and selfishness and vanity—or is there a glimpse of the fine Jewish type, of the noble features of our prophets and sages, of our great heroes and martyrs? If such traits are not there, then mould it and shape it with the spirit of God from within. It is by inward spiritual influences that our faces receive their cast. There is not a finer countenance in the world than the classic Jewish countenance when it is adorned with knowledge, sweetened by charity, charmed by modest beauty. Such faces will disarm all prejudice; through such faces our sages of old speak. It is through that influence and that channel that God can speak to us.

Let us emphasize this spiritual element in our religion as against the formal or intellectual, or even the philanthropic. We must fructify the imagination by a keener appeal to the aesthetic, the artistic, the dramatic element in human life. It is not so important to know what we are to believe, as it is to listen to the pulsebeat of our inmost being and interpret each

deep emotion, each noble impulse in the light of the spiritual life that shines within us. Our commonplace relations then become ennobled, our human love becomes sanctified; beauty, art, music, bring near to us the feeling of the presence of God. Often, when amidst a gathering of high-minded, noble-hearted men and women, deeply interested in the cause of human welfare, speaking for the increase of knowledge, of justice, of purity, of human dignity and happiness, and especially when witnessing the self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of Israel and his honor, for the sanctification of the name of the God of Israel, I feel the awe and reverence that overcame the patriarch of old who had seen a divine vision in his dream, and on awakening exclaimed, "Surely the Lord is in this place and I knew it not!" God is in our worship, if you bring the worshipful spirit. God is in our every-day associations, in our relations as fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters. Do you know how much our forefathers and the rabbis of old thought of the ordinary relation of husband and wife? "What did the High Priest see on the Day of Atonement in the holy of holies?" they ask. "He saw, when the clouds of incense wafted away, the golden cherubim, those ornaments on the Mercy Seat, rise and embrace and kiss each other in the manner of human beings." What did they want to express thereby? That the pure love in the relation of husband and wife is as the love of angels, of the cherubim before God. Therefore, we must not speak of meanness and vulgarity in regard to domestic relations, we must not degrade our joys and pleasures. God is in them and in every one of our social forms. We must dignify our life, we must give to our life a divinity. When a new life enters, when a child is born, there is in heaven a song, "Welcome to earth, thou son of God, thou divine incarnation." Every new-born child is a new incarnation of the divine ideal.

So I appeal to you, dear friends. I speak out of my heart. I tell you that our religion must become beautified, spiritualized; we must remove the hindrances that divide us from the divine communion. One of our medieval poets sang, in that fine poem, *Ho-addereth weho-emunah*—"Beauty and power come from the Ever living One, Communion and sweetness come from the Ever

living One." Beauty, loveliness and permanence, they are divine elements. These we must cherish. The symbols are suggestive. We have robbed our imagination and dwarfed it by removing everything that shall feed and fructify our fancy. These fancies and fairy tales are truer than all our recorded history. Our walls should be adorned with the pictures of the great men and women, the heroic lives, with winged forms, to inspire the imagination. Let us say to our children, "God speaks to you through these angel lips. Let us not try to argue away whatever is mysterious. Let us speak to the children in the natural, that is to say, the poetical way, of the things God is doing for us, of the life that is springing up in us, of the divine element in thought and in love and in beauty.

This is the message I bring to you, brethren, friends and colleagues. We need more spirituality and less theology; we need the stimulating and vitalizing influences of art, architecture, music, the inspiring power of symbolism, feeding the imagination with sublime sentiments and strengthening the will by noble resolutions. Let us emphasize the joyousness of life, the holiness of beauty, the grandeur of human dignity and worthiness, because of the presence of divine life in human life. Away with the futile effort to apologize for God and the attempt to plead for Him in the face of calamity, sorrow, sickness, death. God needs not our defense. The world process is not yet completed, and we know not the purposes and ends of the Creator. Out of chaos and confusion, of sorrow and suffering, of death and destruction, rises new and better life. Behind the clouds of the dark mystery of life shines the gracious countenance of Him who has made man in His image and breathed into him the glory of His Spirit. Amen.

D

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS

AARON J. MESSING

RABBI ABRAM HIRSCHBERG

Through the death of Aaron J. Messing, the Central Conference of American Rabbis has sustained the loss of an honored member who served long and faithfully the cause nearest and dearest to this organization.

Throughout his entire career as rabbi in Israel, it was ever his earnest endeavor to live up to the high ideals of that sacred office as a faithful servant of the Lord, an ardent champion of humanity and a fearless spokesman of the truth.

Be it Resolved, therefore, That this Conference record its deep sense of loss of an esteemed member,

And be it further Resolved, That a message of sympathy be sent to the bereaved family of our departed brother and that a page of our Yearbook be dedicated to his memory.

JOSEPH FRIEDLANDER

Rabbi Henry Cohen

A rare soul passed away in Joseph Friedlander, and his co-religionists and the world are much the poorer. Easily understood, his lovable disposition won the hearts of those who knew him. Older than his years, his age at his demise showed no indication of a lessening spirit; like Moses of old, to whose words he was consecrated, his eye was not dimmed. From his youth up he dedicated himself to the service of God, and his whole life was a sermon. The born scholar and teacher, he studied and taught until the day of his death. True to tradition, he averred that the rabbi must be first and foremost the scholar. That he specialized in Jewish lore was natural, but his reading was of the widest. British born and reared, he was a stylist in the tongue of Shapespeare and Milton, writing with all the force of the English essayists. A linguist, he delved into classical literatures of all ages, which he made his own and which he quoted aptly in pulpit and press to point a moral. Above all, he was as gentle, tender and kind a man as ever breathed and as modest as he was good. The little that he possessed he shared with others, and he is remembered wherever he ministered as an ideal *sheliah zibbur*.

He saw the light of day at Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1855, and the rabbinate was his calling on three continents. Receiving *Semicha* from Jews' College, London, he subsequently officiated at one of the metropolitan synagogs. He was the rabbi of the St. Kilda Congregation at Melbourne, Australia, and later in some few cities in the United States and Canada. At his death, on April 8, in his three score and second year, he was the pulpit incumbent of Congregation Sholem of Plainfield, New Jersey. His early experience as Secretary to the late Doctor Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, and to the English Zionist Federation, served him in good stead in his work in later life. Of strong convictions he was a voluminous contributor to

the Jewish Press, and during his Presidency of the Texas Zionist Association—Friedlander was a cultural Zionist—he published at Waco "The Jewish Hope". He loved poetry passionately, and would often express himself in verse. This prompted him to compile, during the last three years of his life, an Anthology of Jewish Poetry, which will be published—unfortunately posthumously—and which will be a monument to his erudition. A more enduring memorial has been raised by himself in the hearts of those who knew him, by the rare example of his unswerving fidelity to his faith and to his people. A cultured and self-sacrificing Jew, *zecher zaddik livrocho.*

Be it Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis voices its sentiment of loss in the sudden passing of Joseph Friedlander to the *yeshiba shel maalah,* and that this Resolution be spread upon its minutes.

M. S. LEVY

Perhaps no finer type of the pastor among the American rabbinate could be found than M. S. Levy. He was close to the heart and life of every man and woman in the congregation where it was his opportunity to serve. It was the good fortune of the writer to be in San Francisco on the Sabbath when the congregation celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his connection with it. The Temple was crowded to the doors. Never could one see a more sincere outpouring of genuine love and affection. And all the words which were spoken by the various speakers were but faint praise compared with the signs of devotion which one could see on every side. Like his brother who also passed away during this year, his was the understanding to win the hearts of men and women and to gain willing workers for the cause of Israel. Many miss his kind gentleness, many more will miss his thoughtful advice and simple heartfelt sympathy.

Be it therefore Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis record its sense of loss at the death of our beloved colleague and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of our departed friend.

E

JOSEPH LEONARD LEVY

RABBI RUDOLPH I. COFFEE

The Talmud relates that when Joseph, the grandson of Joshua the Levite, lay sick unto death, he had a wonderful dream. Being asked what he saw, he replied: "I behold a perverted world. Those who were influential on earth are not recognized in heaven, and those who share the divine glory above were unnoticed while they lived on earth." He meant that the divine order of justice and righteousness which ruled in heaven had not yet descended to the world below. A similar vision came to Joseph Leonard Levy, another descendant of the tribe of Levi, born in London, England, November 24, 1865. From his school days, he felt that this was a perverted world. He saw the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer for lack of bread. He witnessed the squalor and degradation of God's children; and, to the day of his death, he protested against the evils which perverted this world. But, if the man protested, the Jew in him was a constructive force, fighting for the better day. Some years ago Pittsburgh elected a machine politician as mayor. Rabbi Levy visited him and urged that he surround himself with a cabinet of high-minded men whose single aim would be to serve the best interests of Pittsburgh. The mayor-elect very frankly stated that he must reward his political henchmen, and added: "Pittsburgh will not be ready for your ideas in city government for fifty years." Thereupon our dear friend at once replied: "Then I shall consecrate my best endeavors to shorten the time to forty-nine." Such a remark illustrates the constructive side of his protesting nature.

He refused to believe that whatever is, is right. Whatever is,

is to be made right. The last sermon of his remarkable career was based on the fourth chapter of Micah. The prophet there pictures the great messianic era, when war will be no more, and strife forever ended on earth. Then, every man will dwell under his own vine and fig tree. All his life, J. Leonard Levy had labored to hasten the arrival of that blessed era. He died with the consciousness that he had contributed his share toward bringing the world nearer the desired goal.

Tonight we gather to pay him just tribute. We shall not seek to laud him, for that were contrary to his expressed wishes, but rather to study his unique qualities. He was pre-eminently a successful man, and we do well to analyze his remarkable powers. May a slight portion of this man's ability fall upon us.

First of all, then, Joseph Leonard Levy possessed vision. He saw with unerring gaze. He realized that the times were out of joint. Only, his lament was no jeremiad. He aimed to hasten the hour when heavenly justice would also rule on earth. His most frequently-used text was that immortal theme of Amos: "Let justice flow like a river and righteousness like a mighty stream." The man protested, but the Jew in him constructed. He felt that the mission of Israel consisted in the righting of injustice and evil. The Bible was his source of inspiration. He interpreted Moses as more than a religious teacher. He was also a world economist, and likewise the prophets. "If there ever were men who gave to religion an ethico-economic interpretation, it was the prophets who did so in the Bible." Then, he believed in himself as a participant in Israel's mission. He felt the call. The words of the message were on his lips. He could but speak.

At the early age of 20, he was called to his first position in Bristol, England. While outwardly orthodox, the theory of evolution laid deep hold on him, for he secretly read the books of Herbert Spencer, which he hid in an iron box. The position of rabbi in England, with its narrow limitations, soon became irksome. Therefore, in 1889, when he was called to Sacramento, Cal., he gladly departed for his future home with his beloved wife and devoted life companion. In Sacramento he found two friends who profoundly influenced his life. The one later became his brother-in-law, and the soul of the other was to be

bound for life to his own, even as David and Jonathan. Best of all, in Sacramento, he found himself. Just as in England, so in Sacramento, he felt that the wrongs of this world were to be righted. That was the function of religion, and particularly his conception of the mission of Israel. He felt that Orthodox Judaism, as it had been lived for centuries, was unable to perform this work. He, therefore, chose to join the reform movement in Israel and, to the end of his days, was an aggressive, forceful and leading representative of this viewpoint. Some rabbis tried to reconcile traditional Judaism with modern life. Other colleagues held to a more conservative interpretation of the new view, but J. Leonard Levy, soon after coming to America, espoused the radical aspect of the new interpretation. Though no longer believing in Orthodox Judaism, no rabbi spoke more reverently of it. He always said that the saintly lives of his dear parents were the product of that discipline, and he respected, though he could not accept it. He loved the melodies and teachings of traditional Judaism, but he insisted that they could not hold the rising generation in America. No orthodox rabbi pleaded more earnestly for Sabbath attendance. No minister could have objected more strongly to members of his Temple keeping their places of business open on Yom Kippur. How deeply he begged his people to observe the Sabbath eve and omit the New Year's dance, when December 31 fell on the Sabbath eve. He never introduced Sunday service at the expense of the Sabbath. He had a message for his people, and preached on Sunday because people could then hear him. The man was intensely Jewish. Reform Judaism did not spell convenience to him. It meant service to God through helping his fellow-man. It spelled daily conduct along the highest ethical lines.

Within four years after settling in Sacramento, our friend was called to Congregation Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia, one of the commanding reform pulpits in America. Here he preached powerful sermons to large congregations. In Philadelphia he worked with the philanthropic societies, and organized new movements. His power was soon felt in the larger community. These eight years were a preparation for the final and greatest chapter of his life. In 1901 Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Pittsburgh

extended an invitation which he gladly accepted. On arriving there he found a Jewish community, indifferent and timid in the midst of strong religious prejudice. What this good man wrought is history. The sixteen years of his activity in Rodeph Shalom pulpit completely revolutionized not only the Jewish atmosphere in western Pennsylvania, but forced respect for the Jew from American citizens in that district. Few rabbis in America can point to a record so fruitful in result.

This world must be made better for our children. Israel's mission is to right the wrongs of this perverted universe, through leading the forces for progress. Such a viewpoint very easily explains Rabbi Levy's manifold activities. If he was deeply interested in the mothers' pension bill, and no man did more to secure its passage through the state legislature, it was because he interpreted this as an act of tardy justice to the child rendered fatherless through economic maladjustment in this unhappy world. This also explains his deep interest in the vice problem. He witnesses a perverted world, full of disease and consequent sorrow. This earnest teacher in Israel raised his powerful voice in protest, pleading for pure living and clean thinking. No man in Pittsburgh did more than he to awaken public interest in the great fight to overcome tuberculosis. Year after year, Congregation Rodeph Shalom headed the list of voluntary contributions to the tuberculosis hospital. He knew that hundreds and thousands of Jews suffered from disease, and worse, in the crowded tenements, and his protest took the form of constructive action. On the one hand, he encouraged the sending of Jews to the farm districts and was not discouraged because of initial failure. On the other hand, he encouraged the building of model tenements, a thought which he emphasized time and again.

In 1913, Austria tried to borrow millions of dollars from America, for, as we now realize, war purposes. One of the largest insurance companies in the world was asked to loan the money, a high rate of interest being offered. Rabbi Levy pleaded with the president to refuse the loan, suggesting instead that this money be used for building model tenements in the congested districts of our large cities. Austria was denied that loan, and today, when we are at war with that nation, we are deeply grate-

ful for it. Rabbi Levy's many activities along the lines of economic endeavor can be epitomized in a single word. Instead of economics, the science dealing with the laws of the political and social households, he substituted euconomics, which introduced the thought of human welfare into the laws of economics. Euconomics means all that economics implies, plus humanity. It is "justice with a heart in it."

No attempt to picture this man or understand the secret of his success is complete unless we remember that first and foremost he was a teacher. He felt that his greatest work in life must be with the children. He realized that if the Jew was to be loyal to his religion and zealous for his mission he must first know his religion, its history and its hopes. No part of his ministry meant more to him than the religious school work. Because the text books were unsatisfactory he wrote his own. These books pictured Judaism, not as a religion of creed nor of ceremonies, but of action and of life. His hold upon children was remarkable. Other rabbis complain that they lose their children after confirmation. He bound his pupils to him by the closest ties of real and abiding friendship. His penetrating vision told him that just as he was educating the pupils of his own school to the truths of Judaism, so an intensive campaign should be undertaken to educate all Jewry in America. This was directly within the sphere of the new department of synagog extension, and he consecrated himself to his task with boundless energy and tireless activity. He toured the country, from the lakes to the gulf, and ocean to ocean, to raise funds, and with wonderful results. He visited practically every state in the Union these past years, and no rabbi in Israel has won so large a measure of esteem, love and affection from the Jews of America as Joseph Leonard Levy.

His wonderful insight into human nature told him that all was not well with Israel. Truly this was another evidence of a perverted world. Many people hold that Zionism is the cure. J. Leonard Levy gave freely of his energy and raised large sums of money for Palestine welfare work, but he could not sympathize with the nationalist ideals. Said he this past winter: "The world already has forty-nine national gods; we need no

more. What the world does need is a broader conception of God. To spread that ideal is our special task. This is a world service." We constantly hear complaint that the Jew in America is persecuted. J. Leonard Levy insisted that "we spend too much time permitting ourselves to degenerate into a people with a grievance, instead of realizing that we are a people with a mission." That mission is to serve, to right the wrongs of this perverted world.

The source of much unhappiness in this world traces back to religious differences. Hundreds, thousands, millions of people have shed innocent blood in the name of so-called religion. J. Leonard Levy felt most keenly on the separation of church and state. Every effort to join these two, and thus perpetuate the curse of past centuries, enlisted his powerful and aggressive opposition. He felt that freedom for the Jew in America could only be maintained through an absolute separation of church and state. Because of this attitude, very naturally, he fought practically the united forces of the evangelical churches in western Pennsylvania, but he was a foeman whom his many opponents dreaded and feared. After years of efforts, these churchmen induced the state legislature to pass the bill, through a political deal, which rendered daily reading of the Bible obligatory in the public schools. Rabbi Levy nullified their efforts in Pittsburgh when he successfully pleaded with the board of education to limit this reading to the book of Proverbs. If the Bible must be read, at least have the selections confined to those portions of the Old Testament which are not doctrinal.

In defense of Israel, J. Leonard Levy was at his best. When the fair name of Judaism was assailed he rose to heights of oratorical power. His eloquent pleading never failed to sway his audience. Soon after coming to Pittsburgh, he organized a union Thanksgiving service, the ritual for which he himself wrote. At the Thanksgiving service, following the outbreak of this terrible war, one of the speakers intimated that Jewish bankers had caused this war. J. Leonard Levy's reply still remains one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in Pittsburgh. He concluded that wonderful address by saying that the Jews were not Christ-killers, but God-givers. Even granting,

which he did not, that the Jews crucified Jesus, it was nothing as compared with the daily crucifixion of his teachings by millions of people in Europe, who profess his religion.

This man who could be so courageous and daring and aggressive yet had a generous, warm and impulsive heart. Many, many rabbis are under obligation to him for personal favors. He was always glad to render a service, ready to travel a hundred, five hundred miles at a moment's notice to secure a position for a colleague. His kindness had become proverbial, particularly to his younger colleagues. As he labored for the larger world, so he rendered countless personal services to Jew and Christian. Hundreds of professional men and women owe their college education to the generosity of J. Leonard Levy. To many he gave his own; for others he successfully sought financial aid. No man in the ministry gave more freely of his money. To him money was only useful for the good it could do.

Increasing years brought no diminution of that youthful buoyancy and interest in young folks, their plays and their games. He was an all-around athlete, particularly excelling in tennis. He could accommodate himself to any situation, and in every group he was always one of the crowd, the most democratic of men. His personality was winning. He was a natural born leader, and many persons whose economic and political views were directly opposed to his own became his devoted and personal friends.

The biblical selection for this week tells us: "And Aaron died there on top of the mountain." This great Levite and high priest in Israel died at the height of his power and fame. Tonight we mourn the loss of another Levite and leader in Israel, who went to his heavenly reward at the very zenith of his power, in the very midst of his notable work. At the top of the mountain his place is vacant. Among the leaders of Israel, his post is surrendered, and we mourn the passing of a brother whose translation leaves this earth the poorer in his going. Of the high priest the Bible further tells us this week: "All the children of Israel wept for him." Truly, these words apply to Joseph Leonard Levy. All American Jewry mourns for this brave, for this fearless, for this earnest preacher and teacher in

Israel. God solace his widow and children. Their consolation will consist in knowing that their dear departed left the world better because of his residence in it.

Be it Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis record its deep grief at the death of our beloved colleague and that this expression of sympathy be spread upon the minutes and a copy thereof be sent to the bereaved widow and family of our colleague.

F

LOVE, HUMAN AND DIVINE, IN POST-BIBLICAL LITERATURE

RABBI SAMUEL S. COHON

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INTRODUCTION

Since the days of Paul and John, the view has prevailed that the originality of the Christian religion consists in its proclamation of a new doctrine of love. In place of God, the stern Judge, Christianity—it is asserted—enthroned the God of Mercy; and, instead of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth", it promulgated the great commandment of forgiveness. Hence this antithesis, drawn by most Christian theologians: whereas Judaism rests on rigid justice, Christianity lives on the milk of human kindness.[1] Gradually this belief has filtered through our own theological reasoning, with the result that one of our own teachers[2] has ventured to discover the foundation of Judaism in the "Moral Indignation" as expressed in the *lex talionis.*

All such views ignore the basic truth that Judaism, besides being a *corpus juris,* is a living faith. A civil code must repose on the firm rock of justice; but a religion draws its life breath from the atmosphere of Divine love. Through the influence of religion on the civil code, the very law of retaliation was

[1] The "American Israelite" recently reported a sermon by a Methodist minister in which he "proved to his congregation that the whole trouble with the Kaiser is that he 'has discarded the New Testament God as exemplified by Jesus Christ and adopted the Old Testament Jehovah, making Germany the exclusive favorite of God as Israel was formerly supposed to have been.'" The minister having found the disease, advanced "a remedy: 'Power and war, the old Testament methods of progress, must give way to the New Testament program of brotherhood and love.'"

[2] C. C. A. R. Yearbook XXV, p. 360.

transformed in the Bible into the golden rule: "Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself".[3] On account of its religious nature, the entire system of life in the Bible, says Dr. Kohler, "is permeated by the principle of love, and the relation between God and man, as well as between man and man is based upon it".[4] This is especially true of Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, of Deutero-Isaiah and Malachi, of the Psalms, Deuteronomy, and the Priestly Code. In striking fashion it is emphasized in the parable of Jonah and in the institution of the Day of Atonement. Even Amos,[5] Micah,[6] and Isaiah[7] ever fall back on God's mercy.

Our post-biblical literature is begotten of the same spirit that produced the Bible. The Apocrypha and the Pseudo-Epigrapha, the Talmud and the Midrashim, the ethical, philosophic, and Cabalistic works, and the various prayerbooks, represent the Bible in a re-written form, re-adapted to the needs of the changed ages.[8] Indeed, due to the historical fluctuations, the literary

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[3] Leviticus XIX:18.

[4] Art. "Love" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII.

[5] Amos VII:1-3.

[6] Micah VII:18-20; see also Joel II:13.

[7] As evidenced by his doctrine of the "Survival of a Remnant" (*Shear Yashub*); also Isaiah XXVIII:23-29; XXIX:22-24; XXX:19ff; XXXII:15-XXXIII:6.

[8] Professor Solomon Schechter has characterized the Pseudo-Epigrapha as the product "not of the Synagog, but of the various sects hovering on the borderland of Judaism, on which they may have left some mark by a few stray passages finding their way even into the older rabbinic literature. The Hebrew works, however, which are especially conspicuous for the affinity of their contents or the larger part of their contents with the Pseudo-Epigrapha, are of later date. They make their appearance under disguise, betraying sufficiently their origin by their bewildering contents as well as by their anachronisms. They were admitted into the synagog only under protest, so to speak. The authorities seem to have been baffled, some disavowing them, while others are over-awed by their very strangeness, and apologize for their existence or re-interpret them." (*Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. IX.) These remarks of Dr. Schechter suffer from the equal force with which they apply also to the philosophic writings of

forms and religious doctrines of our post-biblical literature have, as do all living things, undergone many modifications and, in some instances, even transformations. However, the scattered, disconnected and often mutually contradictory homiletical and exegetical comments, upon careful examination, reveal a common tendency and purpose. In our post-biblical, as well as in our biblical writings, the tendency prevails to regard "Love, Human and Divine" as an essential element in the Jewish conception of life and duty. To establish this fact, through the testimony of our literature, and thereby to vindicate the right of Judaism to the doctrine of Love, are the pleasant tasks before us in this essay.

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our foremost masters. Neither the *More Nebuchim* nor the *Ani-Ma'amin* were admitted into the synagog without protest. It matters little how these writings entered into the sacred precincts of Judaism. The fact remains that they have grown into the Jewish consciousness. And while it is undeniably true that some of the Apocryphal and Pseudo-Epigraphic works have exerted little influence on rabbinical literature, ("The Rabbis were either wholly ignorant of their very existence, or stigmatized them as fabulous or 'external'—a milder expression in some cases for heretical—and thus allowed them to exert no permanent influence upon Judaism". Schechter: *Aspects*, p. 5), when carefully examined it will be found that, though emanating from somewhat different centres of Jewish life and thought, these various writings reflect the same basic Jewish convictions. The Jewish spirit, with the Torah as its parent source, called both classes of literature to life. We must make this claim also for Cabala, in which certain tendencies of the Apocrypha and Pseudo-Epigrapha appeared in resurrected form. "It is totally wrong," writes Abelson, "to follow Graetz in regarding the mediaeval Kabbalah as a thing *per se*, as something quite apart from its Talmudic antecedents, as an unnatural child of the darkened intellects of the Jewish Middle Ages. Neither is it right to judge of its merits and demerits by the rationalistic standards which Graetz and his school adopt towards it. The mediaeval Kabbalah is a direct descendent of the talmudic Kabbalah; and by the talmudic Kabbalah one means all those mystic pronouncements which lie scattered and dispersed throughout the extensive realms of the talmudic literature." (*The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, p. 2.) Far from being an exotic growth in Judaism, it is "an integral portion of Talmudism, . . . part of its flesh and blood." (Ibid.) In it, the suppressed "mythology" of the Jewish people found a voice.

Love, the imperious passion under whose influence man is raised from his narrow self to solicitude for others, to the sacrifice of self for others, and to joy in objects, persons and principles for their own intrinsic value—this spark of celestial fire was deemed by our masters worthy of God Himself. Thus love became the regulative force not of the affairs of man only, but of the divine government of the world as well. It traces "with its wings a bridge" of union between earth and heaven, between finite, mortal man and the Immortal and Infinite God.[9]

I. GOD IS LOVE

Man's love of God corresponds to his mental and spiritual endowments.[10] The rationalist seeks to find God through the careful workings of reason, and, with Philo,[11] gives primacy to the conception of Him as Absolute Being. Those of more emotional or mystical temperament cannot be satisfied with such a philosophic abstraction. They wish to discover His relation to the Cosmos and to man, and to bask in the radiance of His glory. Instead of a far-off, transcendent Being, God appears to them as the ever-present, all-pervading, immanent spirit that quickens all things and sustains all things. Through the regularity of the operation of law everywhere in the universe, He reveals Himself in the attribute of King-ship; as the life-giving, indwelling Spirit of all existence, He manifests Himself as the loving Father, the Benefactor, and the Guardian of the world.

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[9] While a distinction is sometimes made—and by no means a rigid one—principally in the Bible, between "love" and "mercy", reserving the latter to describe the relation of God to man, these terms being used interchangeably in post-biblical literature, are, for the purpose of our study, treated together. Concise and helpful presentations of the subject may be found in articles on "Love" by Dr. K. Kohler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and by Dr. G. Deutsch in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics;* also in Dr. E. G. Hirsch's articles "Compassion" and "Golden Rule" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*

[10] For delightful amplification of this thought, see *Pesikta*, ed. Buber XII:187. cf. Midrash *Adonoi B'ḥochma Yosad Erez*, in Eisenstein's *Ozar Midrashim*, p. 106 and the *Shir Ha-Kovod.*

[11] *De Abr.* XXIV-XXV; Bentwich: *Philo*, p. 161-162.

Divine Goodness:

Far from divorcing the conception of God as Reason from that of God as Love, the Jewish mind welcomed both conceptions as windows of the Infinite, as fit avenues of approaching God. The love of God offered to our masters a solution to the riddle of the universe. Ben Sirach, who imputes a very definite personality to God, declares that "He is All", and ascribes to Him the attributes of Creation, Eternity, and Holiness, also of Fatherhood and of Mercy.[12] From Him, proceed good and evil, as do life and death.[13] History attests that He never fails those that trust in Him.[14] The Letter of Aristeas voices Sirach's belief that evil as well as good comes from God,[15] and declares that "It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all."[16] Samuel Holmes characterizes the theology of the Wisdom of Solomon in these words: "God created the world by means of wisdom, and as wisdom is *philanthropos*,[17] the motive of Creation, though not explicitly stated, can be assumed to be God's love to man."[18] The Essenes, in their belief in the love of God, held, as Philo informs us, "that God causes only the good and no evil whatsoever".[19] In this instance, Philo shared their view. Regarding God as the free, self-determining mind, he makes divine goodness the cause of creation. "If anyone were to ask me", says Philo, "what was the cause of the creation of the world, having learned from Moses, I should answer that the

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12 *Sirach.* XLIII:27; cf. XXI:1; XV:13, 14 (v. Psalm XC:10).

13 Ibid XV:11.

14 Ibid II:10, 11.

15 *Letter of Aristeas*: par. 197.

16 Ibid: par 254. cf. *Syb. Oracles* I:3-5, 8, 15, 17, 35; II:1-8, 42.

17 *Wisd.* I:6; VII:28.

18 Introduction to Wisdom of Solomon in Charles' *Apocrypha* and *Pseudo-Epigrapha* I:528-9. v. Baruch XIV:18; 4 Ezra VIII:I, 44 for the view that the world was created for mankind. Cf. *Assumption of Moses* I:12; 4 Ezra VI:55, 59; VII:11; 2 *Baruch* XIV:18 (note), 19; XV:7; XXI:24. *Hebrew Testament of Naphtali* I:6b.

19 *De Vita Contemplata*, ed. Conybeare, p. 53, cited by Kohler, art. "Essenes" in *Jew. Encyc.*

goodness of the living God, being the most important of His graces, is in itself the cause."[20] Furthermore, His benevolence is due not to any incapacity of His for evil, but to His free preference for the good.[21] Here the philosopher himself does not think of God in terms of Absolute Being. The instant he brings God into relation to the world, he looks upon Him from the standpoint of goodness and beneficence. Elsewhere, the Jew in Philo asserts himself even more strongly. He writes: "The fifth lesson that Moses teaches us is, that God exerts His providence for the benefit of the world. For it follows of necessity that the Creator must always care for that which He has created, just as parents do always care for their children."[22]

The rabbis were at one with their predecessors in regarding goodness, beneficence and mercy, as the very essence of God. Like Philo, they regarded Creation as a manifestation of mercy. The Sabbath morning prayer voices the best rabbinic sentiment in praising God for the light which He causes to shine upon the earth and its inhabitants which He created with the attribute of Mercy.[23] And the daily prayer adds: "Through His goodness, He renews each day the work of creation".[24] The rab-

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[20] On the Changeableness of God, XXIII—cited by Abelson: *Immanence*, p. 62.

[21] *De Plantatione Noe*, par. 20, referred to by E. G. Hirsch, art. "God" in *Jew. Encyc.*

[22] *On the Creation of the World*, par. LXI, edited by J. Abelson, *Immanence*, p. 62.

[23] *Hakol Yoducho.*

[24] *Yozer Or.* Commenting on Gen. II:2: "'And God finished His work on the seventh day", Philo states: "God never ceases from making something or other. But as it is the property of fire to burn, and of snow to chill, so also it is the property of God to be creating. And much more so, as He Himself is to all other beings the author of their workings. . . . For He makes things to rest which appear to be producing others, but which in realty do not affect anything. But He Himself never ceases from creating." (The Allegories of the Sacred Laws, par. III, VII, cited by J. Abelson, *Immanence*, p. 64.) The Midrash, on the other hand, while following the verse in its literal sense, and at the same time desiring to show God's ceaseless activity in the world, teaches that, on the seventh day, God ceased from creating the physical world, but not from guiding the moral order. "He

binic doctrine which is avowedly teleological and homocentric may clash somewhat with Philo's view that the goodness of God is in itself the cause of creation. It is in perfect harmony with the idea of the Wisdom of Solomon that the motive of calling the universe into existence was God's love for man.

Fatherhood of God

The plenitude of God's love is manifested in His attribute of Fatherhood. Rabbinic as well as the older Jewish literature views God not only from the aspect of Creator, Judge, and Sovereign of the whole world, but also from that of loving Father of every soul. He is the third parent of each human being; for, while the father and mother supply the child with a body, God endows it with the spirit of life and with all the intellectual and moral faculties.[25] God's indwelling in the soul of man makes for the majesty and the sacredness of human life. "Beloved is man", exclaims Akiba, "for he is created in the image of God."[26] This is the proud distinction of all men, and especially of Israel. "Beloved are the Israelites, for they are called the children of God."[27] From the verse, "Sons are ye to the Lord your God", R. Judah deduces the moral truth that divine sonship can be claimed only by those who obey the will of the divine Father. R. Meir refuses any limitations upon this ennobling claim. The sinners and the saints of humanity alike are sons of the living God.[28] God is grieved by the execution of even wicked men;[29] He mourns over the drowning Egyptians,[30]

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ceased neither from creating the wicked nor from creating the righteous. He ever works with both." (*Gen. R.* XI. Abelson takes this passage to mean that God's labors are limited "to the creation of the variegated characters of man". Ibid.) The prevailing Jewish doctrine, as embodied in the Morning Prayer, is in agreement with Philo.

25 *Nidda* 31a; v. Guttman's *Maphteah Ha Talmud,* vol. I:71-72.

26 *Abot* III:14.

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Kid.* 36a; *Ab. Z.* 3a; *Ber.* 7a; *Yoma* VIII:9 and 5b.

29 *Sanh.* VI:5 and 46a.

30 *Mechilta B'shalah.*

for, though sinful, they are still His children. Israel's sins justly caused the destruction of the Holy Land and Temple. Nevertheless, God weeps over the ruins and over the lowly state of His children that were exiled from His table.[31] As a father, God is with man in suffering. In the parables of the Midrash and the Talmud, He frequently figures as the royal Father of an only son or daughter, carrying the sorrows of His child in His heart.

The rabbis were conscious of the danger of applying the word Father to God, for thereby a human-like personality is ascribed to Him. They were, therefore, careful to explain this and all other anthropomorphisms, as subjective rather than objective, holding to the principle that "the Torah employs man's mode of speech".[32] In naming Him Father, they sought to express the idea of tenderness, devotion, solicitude, compassion, and love, which they associated with God. To express the idea that God sustains the intimate relation of Father to man, and is at the same time exalted above man, the rabbis used the appellations: *"Abinu Malkenu*—our Father, our King", and *"Abinu Shebashomayim*—our Father who is in Heaven". Transcendence blends with immanence.

Divine Love contrasted with Human Love

Divine love, though understood only in the light of human love, is intenser and purer. It does not forsake God even in times of anger.[33] A human being seeks to destroy the person that angered him. But God, although He cursed the serpent, yet supplies it with food. He cursed Canaan, yet sustains him. "He cursed woman, and yet (permits her to be so attractive that) all run after her." Though He cursed the earth, He made it fruitful.[34] In His love, God is not only ministered to, but He

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[31] *Ber.* 3a, 59; *Hag.* 5, 14.

[32] *Ber.* 31b; *Sanh.* 64b, 90b; *Erakim* 3. v. I. Hamburger, "The Philosophy of the Religion of the Jews." *Hebrew Review,* vol. I, p. 238.

[33] *Ex. R.* 3. *Pes.* 86.

[34] *Yoma* 75; cf. *Pesikta* ed. Buber III:18.

ministers. "Come and see", states a Midrash, "that the ways of God are not like those of man. When a man walks by night, his servants carry lights and torches before him; and, by day, they make a sunshade for him, to spare him pain. But God, in His abounding love for Israel, went before them in Person. And were it not for the expressed scriptural verse, it would be blasphemy to utter it. For it is written: 'And God went before them by day with a pillar of cloud, and by night with a pillar of fire, to lead them by day and by night'. Hence it is said: 'Thou hast led in Thy love this people which Thou hast redeemed.'"[35] R. Ḥanina draws this contrast between God and man. "A human king stays within (the palace), and is guarded by his servants from without. God's way is different. His servants stay within (their homes), and He Himself stands sentinel for them. For it is said: 'The Lord is Thy Keeper; the Lord is thy shade by thy right hand.'"[36] The same *Tana* teaches that man does not so much as hurt his finger, unless it is so decreed above,[37] i. e., in His love, God looks after every deed of man. This idea is implied in the doctrine of Providence which, whether in general or in a special sense, is an accepted article in Judaism.

When God proclaimed His thirteen attributes, Moses bowed down and worshipped.[38] The Talmud asks: What did Moses see that overwhelmed him thus? R. Ḥanina b. Gamla answers: He beheld the largeness of God's mercy.[39] According to another tradition, Moses, on ascending to heaven, found God writing the attribute *Erech-apayim*—"long suffering". "Soverign of the world", said Moses, "long suffering with the righteous!" "No", God corrected him, "also with the wicked".[40] He is gracious and merciful even with the undeserving.[41] That vision of the divine essence is the most radiant yet perceived by the eye of

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35 *M. Vayosha*, Eisenstein's *Ozar Midrashim*, p. 154.
36 *Men.* 33.
37 *Hul.* 7.
38 Ex. XXXIV:6-8.
39 *Sanh.* 111b.
40 *Ibid.*
41 *Ber.* 7.

mortal man. In its light, our masters could call God *Raḥamana* —"the Merciful One", a most frequent name for God in the *Halachic* as in the *Aggadic* passages of the Babylonian Talmud.[42]

Attribute of Mercy:

The rabbis, who believed that both justice and mercy are the pillars of the earth, devoted much thought to the nature and function of these attributes, and to their relation to each other. Philo had already contrasted the divine attributes of Goodness and Power, which he finds expressed in the biblical names of God. To quote from Siegfried, Philo "interpreted *'Elohim'* (Septuagint, *Theos*) as designating the 'cosmic power'; and, as he considered the Creation the most important proof of divine goodness, he found the idea of goodness especially in *Theos.*"[43] And, in keeping with his general philosophy, he held that God's "pity is older than His judgment".[44] Like Philo, but with greater consistency, the rabbis identify the divine attributes with the Hebrew names for God. In the tetragrammaton, *Yahweh,* they find the attribute of Mercy; in *Elohim,* the attribute of Justice.[45] When Moses inquired after the divine name, God replied: *"Ehye asher Ehye"*—"I am that I am".[46] Explaining

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[42] "In the tractate *Pesaḥim* alone", writes S. Schechter, "it occurs about forty-one times, but always in the Halachic controversies." *Aspects,* p. 34, footnote. "Diese Bezeichnung Gottes als des 'Barmherzigen' ist nun von den Juden zu den Christlichen Syrern uebergegangen, gerade wie auch Mohammed אל רחמן aufgenommen hat, sei es dass er unmittelbar aus der juedischen oder mittelbar aus der Syrisch-Christlichen Quelle geschoepft hat." A Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften.* Bd. III:323.

[43] Art. Philo in *Jew. Encyc.,* referring to "De Migratione Abraham", par. 32. Siegfried adds that "Philo's exposition here is not entirely clear, as he sometimes conceives the powers to be independent hypostases and sometimes regards them as immanent attributes of the Divine Being". He also refers to his book on Philo, pp. 214-218. v. further Bentwich, *Philo,* p. 159ff; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums in Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter,* p. 428ff.

[44] *Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis,* par. 16; *Ibid.*

[45] *Gen. R.* 33; *Pesikta,* ed. Buber XXIIB 4 p. 149a. *Targum* to *Psalm* LXI:11.

[46] Ex. III:13.

this enigmatic expression, R. Abba Bar Mamol observes: "The Holy One said to Moses: Dost thou wish to know my name? I am called after my works—*Elohim,* when judging my creatures; *Ẓebaoth,* when waging war against the wicked; *El-shaddai,* when suspending the punishment of man's sins (until he repent); *Yahweh,* when showing mercy to the world. 'I am that I am'—I am called after my works."[47]

The attribute of Mercy, it appears from rabbinic writings, is a greater favorite with God than the attribute of Justice. *Midda tobah mᵉrubbah mimiddat pur'oniyot*—"the measure of divine goodness exceeds that of punishment."[48] The second commandment proclaims that God visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Him; and shows mercy unto thousands of them that love Him.[49] From the use of the word "thousands" in the plural number, meaning at least two thousand, the rabbis infer that the grace of God lasts five hundred times as long as His punishment, for the visiting of the iniquity extends only to the fourth generation at the utmost.[50] Moreover their fine conception of individual responsibility, led them to believe that the children suffer for the guilt of their fathers, only if they themselves are wicked. However, in case they are righteous, the chain of punishment is broken, and their fathers, too, are delivered from judgment.[51]

This belief that God's mercy lasts longer than His punishment, by no means conflicts with the doctrine of divine justice. R. Johanan explains the verse: *"Elohim Elohecho Ani"*[52] in this sense: By the use of *'Elohim',* God announces: 'I am a Judge'; and by the second phrase *'Elohecho Ani',* He pro-

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[47] *Ex. R.* 3.

[48] *Sanh.* 100; *Sotah* 11a; *Yoma* 76a; *Mechilta B'shalaḥ* 49; v. M. M. Eichler's art. "Grace" in *Jew. Encyc.* VI:60-61. *Tanḥuma Nizabim,* par. 5.

[49] Ex. XX:5-6.

[50] v. Schechter's *Aspects,* p. 181; also Midr. *Hashkem* in *Ozar Midrashim* p. 139. *Yalkut Shimeoni* 292, 399, 814, 815.

[51] *Sanh.* 27b. Midr. *Hashkem,* Ibid.

[52] Ps. L:7.

claims: 'I am your Patron'.[53] God is long-suffering, but He collects His debt in the end.[54] He declares: "I am the Merciful One; I am also a Judge to punish."[55] While justice has its anger, it has also its pity. Pity is, indeed, as Victor Hugo remarks, "only a more exalted justice". Justice and mercy are not mutually exclusive ideals. They rather supplement and complete each other. Thus R. Akiba, while teaching that a net is spread for all the living and that judgment is meted out to all, also teaches that "the world is judged by grace".[56] The Mercy of God springs not from weakness or indulgence but from His benevolence and goodness.

According to rabbinic fancy there are times in the divine government of the world when God is forced to deal with man after the rule of strict justice. Such occasions cause God grief. For example, in connection with the destruction of the generation of the deluge, the scriptural narrative uses the tetragrammaton *YHVH*,[57] though as a term expressive of the attribute of mercy, it hardly belongs there. This incongruity prompted the rabbis to exclaim: "Woe unto the wicked who turn the attribute of mercy into that of judgment."[58] Isaiah's rebuke, "A sinful nation . . . they have forsaken the Lord",[59] is given this interpretation: God says: "They have made Me forsake Myself; I am called the 'Merciful and Gracious', but through their sins I have been made cruel, and have converted My attribute (of Mercy) into that of strict judgment; as it is said, 'The Lord was an enemy.'"[60]

On the other hand, God delights when He can turn the at-

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[53] *Pesikta*, ed. Buber XII:170.

[54] *B. Kama* 3a, 50a; *Yeb.* 121b; *Zeb.* 116b. *Midr. Tanh.* ed. Buber, 8, 10; *Midr. Petirat Moshe, Ozar Midr.* p. 370.

[55] *Gen. R.* 16:6.

[56] *Abot* III:19-20 and commentaries; also *Pesikta* ed. Buber IX:2, XXV:91-96; *Kid.* 39-40a; *Eccl. R.* 10:1.

[57] Gen. VI:5.

[58] Gen. R. 33:3.

[59] Is. I:4.

[60] *Tan. B.* 3:55a. Cf. *Yalkut Machiri* to Isaiah p. 7, quoted by S. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 239-240. v. *M. Vayosha, Ozar Midr.* p. 149.

tribute of justice into that of love.[61] The school of Hillel interpreted the phrase *verab ḥessed*—"abundant in mercy"[62] as *Mateh kelape ḥessed*—"He inclines towards mercy".[63] Rab (Abba Areka) is quoted by R. Zutra bar Tubia to the effect that God Himself prays thus: "May it be My will that My mercy restrain My anger, and that My mercy assert itself (literally: 'be rolled upon') over My (other) attributes; and may I deal with My children according to the attribute of mercy, and go with them beyond the line of judgment."[64] R. Judah, quoting Rab, says that God devotes three hours each day to judging the world. "Seeing that it merits destruction, He rises from the throne of judgment, and seats Himself upon the throne of mercy."[65] Other aggadists, too, state that "when the *Shofar* is sounded on *Rosh Hashana*, God rises from the throne of judgment, and seats Himself upon the throne of mercy . . . He takes pity (with the people of Israel) and turns for them the attribute of justice into that of love".[66]

Rab declares further that loving-kindness and mercy are among the means (or categories) by which God called the world into being.[67] Thus love figures, in aggadic speculation, as a cosmic principle. It appears in its most fascinating form in the following poetic Midrash to Psalm LXXXIX: "Ethan was asked: 'Whereon does the world rest?' Said he: 'Upon mercy, for it is said: "And the throne (i. e. the world) is set firm through mercy". It is like unto a chair one of whose legs was

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61 *Songs of Songs, R.* 2:17; 4:6.

62 Ex. XXXIV:6.

63 *Pesikta* in *Ozar Midr.* p. 495.

64 *Ber.* 7a; *Jer. Ta'an.* ch. 2. An older tradition puts this prayer in the mouth of R. Ishmael ben Elisha. He is said to have offered it when, while offering incense, he was asked by God for a blessing.

65 *Ab. Z.* 3. The *Massechet Hecholot* discusses the number of God's thrones, and mentions a throne of *Ḥesed* and a throne of *Raḥamim*. v. *Ozar Midr.* p. 108.

66 Pesikta, ed. Buber, XXIII:30-33 and notes, 62-64, 69, 81. XXVI:6. Pesikta in *Ozar Midr.* p. 495-496; *D'rash Liptirat Moshe*, Ibid. p. 315. v. also the Piyut *"Mi Ya'aroch elecho Ma'aneh"* in the Mussaph service for Yom Kippur.

67 *Ḥag.* 12.

a bit too short. To render it stable, a chip of wood had to be placed under that leg. Even so was the throne of the Holy One, blessed be He, shaky until God supported it. And wherewith? With mercy. Hence the Psalm says: *Olam ḥesed yiboneh*—"the world is built on love.'"[68] Another Midrash states that when God was about to create the world, He had intended to create it in accord with the attribute of mercy. Seeing that, in that case, its sins would be numerous, He wished to create it in accord with the attribute of justice. But He saw that such a world could not abide. In order to make it enduring, He tempered justice with mercy.[69]

R. Simon says: When God was about to create Adam, the ministering angels divided themselves into groups, some approving of God's plan, and others disapproving. "Mercy argued: 'Let him be created, for he will perform deeds of loving kindness'. Truth objected, foreseeing that man will be full of lies. . . . What did God do? He cast Truth to the ground. Affrighted, the angels cried: 'Sovereign of the world, dost Thou despise Thine own ornament? Let Truth arise from the ground!' Taking advantage of this commotion, God hastily created Adam."[70] (And man still shows the effects of that haste!) It is by virtue of God's mercy and grace that mankind could arise and flourish.[71]

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[68] The ordinary translation is: "Forever is mercy built". v. the New Translation. v. *Yalkut Shimeoni* to Ps. LXXXIX; also *Abot* I:2; and *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* IV:5, and Leeser's Bible translation.

[69] *Gen. R.* 12. *Alpha Betha De Rabbi Akiba*, letter Gimmel, *Ozar Midr.* IX, p. 411; *Adonoi Beḥochma Yosad Erez*, Ibid. p. 104, 105; *Midr. Chonen*, Ibid, 259.

[70] Ibid; Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews* I, 51ff. v. poem "*Middat Ha-Mishpot*" in Heidenheim's *Maḥzor* for Yom Kippur.

[71] *Shoḥar Ṭob* to Ps. XXV:8. Gerald Friedlander remarks: "There may be an attempt here to counteract the un-Jewish doctrines of the Paulinian School, which taught that, owing to Adam's sin, God's grace was withdrawn, and only through the advent of a second Adam (or Christ) could this divine grace be restored to the world. The theologians who suggest that Judaism has something to learn from the Paulinian doctrine of grace must be unaware of the Jewish teaching on this theme." *P. D. R. E.* p. 136, note 2. A few illustrations will suffice: In the *Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer*, we are informed that God first disclosed His plan of creating man to the Torah.

These passages show the tendency in rabbinic literature to hypostatize Mercy, as the other divine attributes, and to assign to it mediatorial functions.[72] The attribute of Mercy is often represented as helping man. Occasionally the Holy Spirit or the Torah takes its place as paraclete.[73] A penetential hymn in the *Neilah* service reads: "*Attribute of Mercy,* reveal thyself for us; make our supplications to fall before thy Creator; and, on behalf of thy people, implore mercy." Another *Seliha* addresses itself to the "*Angels of mercy,* ministers of the Most High", asking them to intercede in behalf of the afflicted people. It must

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"Sovereign of the world!" said the Torah, "The man whom Thou wouldst create will be limited in days, and full of anger; and he will come into the power of sin. Unless Thou wilt be long-suffering with him, it would be well for him not to come into the world." God quieted the fears of the Torah, saying: "And is it for nought that I am called 'slow to anger' and 'abounding in love'?" (Chap. XI.) Further on in the same work, Israel appears in the role of advocate of humanity. When the world was completed, Israel (i. e. the Heavenly prototype of Israel) petitioned God not to withhold His mercy and loving-kindness, for without them the world cannot exist. (Chap. XIX.) "With love abounding did the Holy One, blessed be He, love the first man, inasmuch as He created him in a pure locality, in the place of the Temple, and He brought him to His palace." As an act of special mercy, God created Adam out of the dust that was gathered from the four corners of the earth, so that wherever man dies the earth may have no right to refuse to receive his body. (Chap XI and Rashi to Gen. II:6.) When the earth learned that God intended to supply Adam with a help-mate, she received a Malthusian shock and registered her objections: "Sovereign of the worlds! I have not the power to feed the multitude of mankind." God removed her complaints by entering into an agreement whereby she was obliged to feed mankind only by day, while He would sustain it by night. "What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He created the sleep of life, so that man lies down and sleeps whilst God sustains him and heals him and gives him life and repose." To spare Adam the pain, God cast a deep sleep upon him while "He took one of his bones from his side and flesh from his heart, and made it into an help (meet for him) and placed her opposite to him". (Chap. XII.)

72 v. further, *Seder Din in Ozar Midr.* p. 289; *Perek Gan Hahavim,* Ibid. p. 91; *Adonoi Behochma Yosad Erez,* Ibid. p. 105.

73 Songs of Songs, R. 8:12.

be noted, however, that these personifications were never hardened into a dogma. In some respects they present a striking similarity to Philo's doctrine of the *Logos,* or rather the *Logoi,* to which he gives the following description: "For God, not condescending to come down to the external senses; sends His own *Logoi* or angels for the sake of giving assistance to those who love virtue. But they attend like physicians to the diseases of the soul . . . offering sacred recommendations like sacred laws, and inviting men to practice the duties inculcated by them."[74] Like the *Logoi,* the attribute of Mercy, though pictured as a person, is not separated from God, and may be regarded as chiefly denoting God's attitude towards the universe. It may be best characterized as an offshoot of Divinity, ceaselessly energizing the eternal drama of creation.

The Cabala, which represents an extension, though occasionally a distortion of talmudic and midrashic thought, assigns an even more commanding place to this doctrine of love as a cosmic principle. There the divine attributes appear under the guise of the ten *Sefirot* (literally "digits" or "numbers").[75] The *Sefer Yezirah*—the authorship of which Dr. Neumark ascribes to the school of Rab—explains the emanation of the visible world from the God-head, through the instrumentality of the *Sefirot.* Whereas all matter was produced by means of the twenty-two letters, the form to all things was given by the ten *Sefirot.* The *Masseket Azilut* names the *Sefirot,* and invests them with human feeling, calling one of them *Ḥesed.*[76] Later Cabala went a step further

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[74] On Dreams Being Sent by God, XII, XIX, cited by J. Abelson, *Immanence,* p. 7. For the definition of the Philonian Logos, v. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* III:2, p. 378, referred to by Schuerer, *History of the Jewish People* II:3, p. 375.

[75] These are conceived as divine emanations, employed as tools in the creation of the world. *Massechet Azilut, Ozar Midr.* p. 68. For a discussion of the *Sefirot,* v. Ginzberg's art. "Cabala" in *Jew. Encyc.* and Abelson's "Mysticism", pp. 114-115.

[76] *Keter* contains "the thirteen gates of wisdom and pity which Moses mentions in the Torah" (referring to Ex. XXXIV:6-7). *Ḥesed* is named the attribute of Abraham (referring to Micah VII:20). *Neẓaḥ* is the attribute of Moses, through whose merit the Manna came down for the righteous. *Hod* is the attribute of Aaron, through whose

and invoked the "mystery of sex"—a survival of an old Semitic belief—to explain the birth of the world. The *Sefirot* are, therefore, divided into triads, each consisting of a "father", a "mother", and a "child" or "son".[77]

Thus God called the world into existence. At first, He created worlds and destroyed them,[78] because they were full of strife. Only when, in this world, harmony prevailed, He let it abide. The unbridled imagination of the Cabalists produced the *Hekalot* or Heavenly Halls and consecrated one of them to Love.[79] In the Palace of Love, *Hechal Ahabah,* according to the *Zohar,* "the deepest mysteries are enacted. There are all the

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merit the clouds of glory surrounded Israel in the dessert. *Yesod,* the attribute of Joseph, includes all the emanations, the Mercies and the Compassion and the Might of the Holy One with which He feeds and sustains the congregation of Israel. v. *Massechet Azilut,* Ibid.

[77] From the first *Sefirah, Ketcr* (Crown), emanate *Hochmah* (Wisdom), masculine, active; and *Binah* (Intellect), feminine and passive. From their union proceeds *Da'at* (Reason). This triad forms a unity in itself, "that is, knowledge, the knower, and the known, are in God identical, and thus the world is only the expression of the ideas or the absolute forms of intelligence." (Some Cabalists do not consider *Da'at* an independent *Sefirah;* hence they complete the triad by including *Keter* among the Sefirot. v. Ginzberg, Ibid, III:474.) The second triad, which emanates from the first one, interprets the world as the expression of God's moral nature. *Hesed* (Mercy) appears here as the masculine, active principle, mated to the feminine and passive *Din* (Justice), also called *Pahad* (Awe) and *Geburah* (Might); and begets *Tiferet* (Beauty). Ginzberg writes: "The concepts, justice and mercy, however, must not be taken in their literal sense, but as symbolical designations for expansion and contraction of the Will, the sum of both, the moral order, which appears as beauty." The last triad represents dynamic nature. The masculine *Nezah* (Triumph) is coupled with the feminine *Hod* (Glory). Their offspring is *Yesod* (Foundation), i. e. "the reproductive element, the root of all existence". In the last *Sefirah, Malkut* (Dominion), "the will, the plan, and the active forces become manifest. It is the sum of the permanent and immanent activity of all *Sefirot*". Ibid, p. 474-475. The *Sefirot* are reproduced in the Sabbath Hymn *"El Odon"*, Singer's ed. Prayer Book, p. 129. However, v. Israel Abrahams' note (Ibid). v. also the *piyut "Hoaderet Weho-emunoh".*

[78] Cf. Gen. R. 89.

[79] *Massechet Azilut,* Ibid, p. 81-82.

souls that are beloved of God. God Himself dwells with them there, and unites with them through kisses of love, *Neshikin di-reḥimu.*"[80] For, while in life the human soul may unite with the Oversoul in occasional moments of ecstasy, the perfect union with God can be attained only through death.[81] Then the cerements of the flesh are removed, and the soul soars home to God. Divine love thus deprives death itself of its horror. Death is the home-coming of the divine child, the soul, from the school of this world's experience—an occasion for special festivities by the Royal Father in Heaven, and the Queen Mother (the *Sheᶜhina* or Holy Presence).[82]

Not only in rabbinic and Cabalistic thought, but also in the speculations of several of our philosophers, Love illumines, with its glow, the whole pageant of cosmic as well as of human life. The mediaeval Jewish philosophers, especially of the Aristotelian school, viewing all the universe as the manifestation of Reason, tended to the idea of God as Law. But they were faithful heirs to Jewish tradition; and, while striving to harmonize it with the accredited philosophy of their day, firmly clung to its doctrines. As disciples of Aristotle, they refused to admit positive attributes to the divine Essence. As Jews and theologians, they found a loophole in their logic for attributes descriptive of God's actions. Hence, following biblical, talmudical, and Cabalistic examples (several of the philosophers wrote commentaries to the *Sefer Yezira,* the classic of the Cabala), they continued to speak of the attributes of Mercy and Love. Like Philo, they emphasized God's beneficence. Baḥya[83] recognizes God through the abundance of goodness in the world, through its display of order, wisdom, light, and joy. Judah Halevi, in his poems[84] and in his *Kuzari,* revels in the overflowing goodness and mercy of God. Maimonides and Gersonides clear God of the suspicion of evil by

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[80] *Zohar, Mishpotim* 97a; Frank Kabbala, German ed., p. 181.

[81] The same view, though for different reasons, is held by Leo Abravanel. v. *Vikuaḥ al HoAhavah,* p. 10a.

[82] *Zohar, Vavehi,* p. 245b; Abelson, Mysticism, p. 161ff.

[83] *Hobot Ha-lebobot.*

[84] Harkavy's ed., vol. II, p. 121.

denying its reality.[85] Judging God by His actions, He appears good and kind.

Hisdai Crescas, who was free from the hypnotic spell of the Stagirite, struck out a bold path by reclaiming the propriety of using positive attributes in describing the nature of God, and by asserting that the unifying principle of the world is not Intelligence, as Maimonides and the other Aristotelians among the Jewish philosophers believed, but Goodness. "The infinite goodness which is essential to God, comprehends all the attributes, rendering them one. . . . His substance is simple in an absolute sense, and goodness in general follows from Him essentially."[86] "God", he declares, "is the absolute good; and the purpose He aims at is to do good, since indeed the Purpose of Creation and Revelation was nothing (else than to do good)."[87] As a logical corollary, love becomes "the essential quality of God",[88] whose nature is goodness.

Love, as a cosmic force, dominates the philosophy of Don Judah ben Isaac Abravanel, who is known also as Leo Hebraeus or Medigo. His work *Dialoghi d'amore, "Dialogues of Love"*, which Graetz aptly terms "a philosophical idyll", combines the Platonic and pantheistic tendencies of the Italian renaissance, re-echoing, now and then, the doctrines of Empedocles.[89] While

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[85] *Moreh Nebuchim* III:8, and *Milhamot* IV:3. v. H. Zeitlin: *Hatob wehora*, p. 71ff. cf. 50ff.

[86] *Or Adonoi* I:3:3, p. 24b, cited by Wolfson, "Crescas on Divine Attributes", *Jewish Quarterly Review* VII, p. 207, note 111. v. also E. G. Hirsch art. Crescas, in *Jew. Encyc.* IV:352.

[87] Ibid., p. 64, cited by D. Neumark, *Crescas and Spinoza*, C. C. A. R. Yearbook, vol. XVIII, p. 299.

[88] Kohler, art. "Love", *Jew. Encyc.*

[89] Graetz fails to do him justice when telling that "he did not penetrate to the true spirit of Judaism" and that "therefore his work was valued by Christians more than by Jews". (*History of the Jews*, IV:480-481.) The cause of this book's greater popularity with Christians than with Jews is due to the precarious condition of Jewish literature—resulting from incessant persecution—that caused the Jews to neglect the Apocryphal and Pseudo-Epigraphic literature, the writings of Philo, the Fons Vitae of Gabirol, and a host of other works written in Greek, Arabic, Spanish, etc. Even original Hebrew com-

identifying God with intelligence,[90] he recognizes, in love, a force which lies "at the root of the whole world, not only in the material, but even more so in the spiritual spheres. . . . From the first cause to the very last of the creatures, there is not a thing without love."[91] It holds the world together, and draws it to God. Divine love has created the world, and makes for the perfection of all things, especially of man.

The teachings of Abravanel, as well as of Crescas, with certain modifications, reappear in Spinoza's system. Stripping love of all earthly passion, and with Abravanel employing for it the epithet "intellectual", Spinoza too applies it to God, whom he identifies with the universe. He writes: "God loves Himself with an infinite intellectual love"; and "it follows that God, insofar as He loves Himself, loves men, and consequently that love of God toward men, and the intellectual love of the mind toward God, is one and the same thing."[92]

II. GOD'S LOVE OF MAN

Signs of Benevolence:

God as love forms a part not alone of our literature and philosophic speculations. It is a conception which runs through the whole fabric of our faith, and colors all our theological doctrines. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon declares: "Thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest none of the things that

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positions have suffered neglect. The poems of Halevi—not to mention the works of lesser masters—have not yet been printed in full. Naturally, Abravenel's book, written in Italian, gained greater circulation among the Italian Christians than among the Jews, a small number of whom spoke or understood the language of the book. That this book was not neglected by the Jews may be seen from the fact that R. Gedalia b. Yahia translated it into Spanish, and Judah of Modena into Hebrew. Under the title *"Vikuaḥ al Ho-ahabah"*, it was published by Mekize Nirdamim, Lyck, 1871. That his book is conceived in the true spirit of Judaism, we venture to claim this paper sufficiently proves.

[90] *Vikuaḥ al Ho-ahabah*, p. 9a.

[91] Ibid., 12b ff.

[92] *Ethics*, Prop. XXXV-XXXVI.

Thou hast made."[93] Hence he views suffering and evil in the light of this doctrine. In His love, he says, the Creator fashioned man in His own image. Therefore He expects from man conduct worthy of his privileges, viz., wisdom and righteousness. When he attains to goodness, he receives the rewards of holiness and the prize of a blameless life; but when he falls short of the divine ideal, he receives his due penalty. Thus justice itself is a manifestation of divine love.[94] Divine judgment is not merely disciplinary, but also remedial in its purpose. With the Prologue to the book of Job, the Wisdom of Solomon holds suffering as a means of testing the righteous. "As gold in the furnace, He proved them."[95] His motive throughout is love to man. Ben Sirach holds the same ground. He points to the extent and to the all-inclusiveness of divine mercy as manifested in His

> "Reproving and chastening and teaching,
> And bringing them (all flesh) back as a shepherd his flock.
> He hath mercy on them that accept (His) chastenings,
> And that diligently seek after His judgments."[96]

The author of II Maccabees regards the afflictions that came upon Israel as intended not for the destruction, but for the chastening of the race, and as "a sign of benevolence." If the heathens have escaped them, it is to the end that they may be punished "when they have attained to the full measure of their sins."[97]

"Punishment", writes Abelson, "was never considered by the Jew an act of a vindictive Judge. It was a pledge of God's merciful interest in him, a sinner, urging him to abandon his evil course."[98] Pain and sorrow, in the view of the rabbis, are the arena "for the exercise of Love's invincible charms".[99] A term of their coining, *yisurim shel ahabah*—"chastisements of

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[93] Wisdom of Solomon, XI:24.
[94] *Midr. Hashkem, Ozar Midr.*, p. 140.
[95] Wisdom of Solomon, I:6; VII:28.
[96] Sirach XVIII:13, 14.
[97] II Maccabees V:17-20; VII:12-16; cf. Judith VIII:11-27.
[98] *Immanence*, p. 31.
[99] *Ibid.*

love"—indicates that in their thinking, as in the thought of the masters of the apocryphal writings, undeserved suffering is sent upon man out of the fulness of God's love, for thereby man is purged of every vestige of sin and is led to the higher life. "Beloved are *yisurim* (chastisements)", declares R. Nachman, "for as sacrifices atone, so do *yisurim* atone for sin."[100] "Seekest thou life?—Wait for suffering." God says: "I shall punish thee in this world in order to cleanse thee from thy sins in the world to come".[101] Thus the eye of faith beheld the sign of God's love, even in affliction. Firm in this conviction, the rabbis taught: *Kol d'abid Raḥamana l'tab abid*—"all that the Merciful Ones does is for the good".[102] Nahum Ish Ginsu is remembered for his optimistic saying, *gam zu l'tobah*—"this too is for the best",[103] welcoming everything that befell him as a sign of divine goodness. In this spirit, a marginal note in R. Meir's Torah Scroll to the verse "And behold it was very good", read *ze mowet* —"that refers to death". Another interpretation of the qualitative adverb "very" in the above cited verse, takes it to refer to the *yezer hora*—"the evil passions"; for were it not for the passions, no man would build a house, marry, beget children or engage in business. Other explanations of the adverb "very" make it include suffering, punishment and even *Gehenna* and the Angel of Death.[104] That which in the popular mind is considered evil, serves a higher good. To the beclouded eye of man, this may not be clear. But God looks upon it and pronounces it "very good".

However, though suffering and evil are good in their place, they shall have no room in God's future kingdom. On the basis of the future tense in the verse *y'hi shem Adonoi M'voroch* (literally): "God's name will be praised", the rabbis said: "In this world, God is praised for good and for evil. When good

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[100] *Yalkut Shim.* 837.

[101] *Pesikta,* ed. Buber, XXIII:27, 29, 41-42; Maimonides: *Moreh Nebuchim* III:24 and I. Aroma, *Akedat Yitzchok* XIX.

[102] *Ber.* 60b.

[103] *Sanh.* 108b. This saying is met with also on the lips of Akiba and of other Jewish masters.

[104] *Gen. R.* 89; *Yalkut Shim.* 16.

betides us, we say: *haṭov wᵉhameṭiv*—"Praised be the All-good who causes good things to come to pass". When evil befalls us: *Boruch Dayan Ho-emet*—"Praised be the truthful Judge". In the world to come there will be only the one blessing over the good, for the curse of death shall vanish, as Scripture says: "He hath destroyed death forever."[105] The angel of death shall be slaughtered, and men shall eternally rejoice in the glory of God, free from the fear of mortality. This world which God "has created with the attribute of mercy",[106] and which He sustains in His kindness, moves toward goodness in its most perfected form, where sorrow and sighing shall be no more.

Even in this world of suffering, God's purpose of love is manifest to man. Before smiting, He creates the remedy wherewith to heal the wound *"makdim rᵉfu'oh lᵉmakko"*.[107] Man suffers from sin. In order to enable him to free himself from its thralldom, God created for him the power of repentance. *Teshubah* was indeed called into existence before Creation.[108] The underlying philosophy of repentance is that a change in the human heart and mind bring about a corresponding change in God's attitude toward man. This change of heart is not brought about through man's own powers. He takes the first step, but the final defeat of the evil *yeṣer* takes place through the grace of God. "Every day the *yeṣer* of man assaults him, and endeavors to kill him, and but for the Holy One, blessed be He, who helps man, he would not resist him."[109] Thus repentance is a shield against punishment.[110] "After God thought of creating the evil *yeṣer,*

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[105] *Midr. Hallel, Ozar Midr.*, p. 127.

[106] Sabbath Morning prayer: *Hakol Yoducho.*

[107] *Midr. L' Ḥanukah, Ozar Midr.*, p. 193.

[108] *Pes.* 54a; *Pirke De R. Eliezar*, ed. G. Friedlander, III, p. 11-12; *Pirke Rabbenu HaKodosh*, VII in *Ozar Midr.*, p. 512. One of the finest bodies of rabbinic teaching on Repentance is found in the *Pesikta* for Yom Kippur in *Ozar Midr.*, 496-498.

[109] *Sukka* 52b. v. Schechter, *Aspects*, 279-280; also 4 Ezra VII:135-137.

[110] *Abot* IV:11; v. further Apocalypse of Baruch LXIV:8; Prayer of Man.; Apostolic Constit. II:22; Synh. 103a; Gen. R. 18:20; 52:7; Ex. R. 21; Pes. 119a; *Tana Debe Elijah Zutta* XXII-XXIII; *Pirke De*

He began to regret it, but prepared the cure before the affliction, and created repentance."[111] A passage in *Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer* states: "The world could never have existed but for the fact that repentance was created (first), and the Holy One, blessed be He, stretches out His right hand to receive penitents each day."[112] Whenever man repents, God's mercy asserts itself.[113] Through the repentance of one man the whole community may be forgiven.[114] Repentance, as an aspect of divine love, is well illustrated by the parable of R. Yochanan about the prince who was carrying a heavy beam. The king, seeing it, asked that the burden be laid upon his own shoulders. So God, in His love for even His sinful children, invites them to cast their sins upon Him.

Like repentance, so is prayer a remedy prepared by God, to free man from sinfulness. Through confession of sin man slays his evil *yezer,*[115] and effects a reconciliation between himself and God. While God desires neither sin-offerings nor burnt-offerings, He delights in man's words of prayer, springing from the sincere heart.[116] He reciprocates man's love for Him, and longs to commune with His creatures.[117] Abelson writes: "Humanity heaves towards God, and God responds with a counter-heaving towards humanity. It is the essence of what is implied in divine love."[118] Albo rightly considered prayer as an aspect of Providence.[119] The belief in its efficacy has, on this ground, been deeply rooted in the Jewish consciousness. "Prayer avails a man both before

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R. Eliezer XLIII; I. H. Weiss, *Dor Dor Wedorshov* III:274; *Jew. Encyc.* art. Repentance; and Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 279ff; also Yom Kippur ritual.

111 Cited by Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 314.

112 Ibid.; also v. different version in P. D. R. E. XLIII:337.

113 *Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 164a.

114 *Yoma* 86b. v. whole section from 85b through 87b; also *Sanh.* 111a.

115 *Lev. R.* IX:1.

116 *P. R.* 198b. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 338.

117 *Num. R.* 13:6.

118 *Immanence*, p. 302.

119 *Ikkarim* IV:16.

and after the signing of the divine decree",[120] changing the divine disposition from wrath to mercy.[121] In its purest form, prayer puts man in a frame of mind which makes him feel the nearness and the love of God.

Still greater love was shown to man by God's revelation of the Torah. Like Repentance, the Torah had a premundane existence.[122] Though the choicest of His treasures—for the sake of which He created the world[123]—God, in His love, entrusted it to man. Through its merits, Israel is saved from suffering and from the power of the evil *yezer* and is filled with the Holy Spirit.[124] It has brought light[125] to the world, and it has brought peace.[126]

When the words "I am the Lord thy God" were thundered forth at Sinai, the Israelites fainted. Thereupon the angels embraced them and kissed them and called unto them: "What ails you? Fear not; 'Ye are children unto the Lord your God'!" And God Himself softened His speech and soothed them, saying: "Are ye not My children? I am the Lord your God; ye are My people, ye are beloved before Me". Thus He comforted them until their spirits were restored.[127]

Theologians of the anti-Jewish bias may say what they will about the burden and the curse of the Torah. The Jew has always felt that *Ḥesed zu hatorah*—"Mercy is a synonym for the Torah," for it is written: *wᵉtorat ḥesed 'al lᵉshonah*[128]—"and the law of kindness is on her tongue".[129] He has further believed that a "cord of mercy"—*ḥut shel ḥesed*—encircles those that

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120 *Rosh Hash.* 16a.

121 *Yebam.* 64a.

122 *Zeb.* 116a; Sab. 88b; Midr. *Shemuel* V:2 (13).

123 *Gen. R.* 1.

124 *Midr. Gadol u-Gedulah, Ozar Midr.*, p. 79.

125 "*Torah zu Orah*—Torah is light". Megil. 16. "The sun lights only by day, and the Torah by day and by night." v. Abudraham, ed. Warsaw, p. 45.

126 *Zebah.* 116; cf. *P. R.* 95a; *Sifre* 142b.

127 *Song of Songs R.* 5; cf. *Sab.* 88.

128 Prov. XXXI.

129 *Adonoi Beḥochma Yosad Erez, Ozar Midr.*, p. 106.

study the Torah.[130] In his prayers the Jew declares: "With everlasting love, Thou hast loved the House of Israel, Thy people; a Law and commandments, statutes and judgments hast Thou taught us. . . . Yea, we will rejoice in the words of Thy law and in Thy commandments forever, for they are our life and the length of our days."[131]

The institutions ordained by the Torah, too, were regarded as the expression of God's overflowing love. The *Kiddush* praises God because He "has sanctified us by His commandments, and taken pleasure in us, and *in love* and favor has given us the holy Sabbath as an inheritance.[132] The rabbis and poets extolled this "delight of days"—*Hemdat yomim*—and pictured it as the bride of Israel.[133] The other festive seasons are likewise looked upon as signs of God's love for Israel.[134]

"Special love", says Akiba, "was manifested to Israel, in that to them was given the precious instrument (the Torah) by which the world was created." In these words, we catch the echo of Akiba's polemics with the rising Christian faith. *Whereas the New Testament writers assert that God's love was manifested through His sacrifice of His only begotten Son, the Christ, for mankind,*[135] *this master of Judaism declared that God's special love for humanity has been shown through the revelation of the Torah, which is His will to man.* It is here that we must find the roots of whatever difference there may be between the Christian and the Jewish doctrines of divine love: the one in the process of showing the intensity of God's love for mankind succeeds in turning Him into a monster who appeases His wrath only by devouring His own Son; the other demonstrates the ex-

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130 *Hag.* 12b.

131 Prayerbook, ed. Singer, p. 96. With slight verbal variations, this prayer appears also in the Reform Prayerbooks.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 124; cf. Prayer of R. Zadok, *Tos. Ber.* III:7; v. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 153.

133 *Gen. R.* 11:6. Israel is the mate of the Sabbath. cf. Shelomo Halevi's (alkabets) hymn *Lecho Dodi*, in the Friday eve services. *Ibid.*

134 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

135 Epistle to the Romans and I. John, passim.

tent of God's love through His instruction and guidance of erring humanity. The Torah, as the rabbis understood it, was revealed for the purpose of leading us Godward and to render us pure from sin. Its study makes man "a lover of the All-present, a lover of mankind, and clothes him in meekness and reverence."[136]

It is true, in the Talmud we meet with an apparent objection to the consideration of Mercy as the chief aim of the Torah. The Mishna speaks disapprovingly of prayer prefaced by the declaration: "To the bird's nest Thy mercies extend".[137] Just what was in the mind of the authors of the Mishna is not clear. The Amoraim in the Palestinian Talmud record their opinions to the effect that such a declaration appears like a complaint against God's justice, as if to say: "Thy mercies reach to the bird's nest but not to man, for Thou allowest him to suffer";[138] or it "sounds as if the divine mercy were limited to the bird's nest alone".[139] Similarly the Babylonian Talmud reports the view of one Amora that such a statement instead of praising God casts a reflection of partiality upon Him, "creating jealousy among God's creatures", as if suggesting that He deals mercifully with some of His creatures and not with others.[140] Another Amora holds that it misrepresents God's relation to His creatures, rendering His attributes (or the laws dictated by them) mercy, while they are decrees.[141]

The attitude of the Mishna may perhaps be explained in the light of R. Ḥanina's rebuking the man who strung up a long chain of divine attributes, in offering a prayer, saying to him: "Hast thou exhausted the praises of the Lord?" One may as well imagine himself praising a king of inexhaustible wealth for

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136 *Abot* VI:1.

137 *Ber.* V:3. The reference is to the law in Deuteronomy XXII:6-7, which prohibits the taking of the mother-bird together with its young from the nest.

138 *K'kore tagor al Middotov shel Hakodosh Boruch Hu.*

139 *K'noten kizbah l'middotov. Jer. Ber.* 9c.

140 *Shematil Kinah bema'aseh bereshit.*

141 *She'oseh Middotov shel Hakodosh Boruch Hu Raḥamim Weenon elo geserot. Ber.* 33b; *Megil.* 25a and *Rashi* ad loc.

displaying a small silver coin. Is not such praise insulting to him?[142] In this spirit the Mishna may have objected to basing the praise of the All-merciful One on a small manifestation of kindness.

Such remarks may have been called forth as protests against allegoristic interpretations of the Law, as Professor Lauterbach suggests.[143] or against some heretical sectarians who tended to

[142] *Ber.* 33b and *Meg.* 25a.

[143] Professor Lauterbach—to whom I am grateful for several suggestions in this paper—takes these explanations as unsatisfactory guesses at the meaning of the Mishnah. "The fact is," he writes, "that the Mishna did not mean to forbid a man to appeal in his prayers to the divine mercy, by referring to the law of Deut. XXII, 6, as an expression of His love for His creatures, and there is no harm in seeing in the laws of God merely expressions of love. And when a rabbi once uttered the prayer: 'Thou hast shown mercy to the bird's nest, show Thy mercy and Thy compassion to us also', he gained the admiration of Rabbah, who expressed himself thus: 'How well this rabbi knows how to plead with his Master'. These words were said in all sincerity, not merely to sharpen Abaye's wits and to rouse his protest against this prayer, as explained in Talmud Berakot 33a. [However, Rabbah's words may perhaps be taken in the sense of R. Hanina's remarks.] The Mishnah here refers to the people who deny that God meant us to fulfill the law of Deut. XXII, 6, in declaring it to be beneath God to extend His mercies to such insignificant creatures as birds in a nest. We can find similar interpretations by Philo and by Paul. Philo (De somnis, 1, 16) explains the law in Exod. XXII, 26, in an allegorical way. He says, it cannot mean a real garment, as God would not concern Himself about a garment, and would not think of prescribing a law for it. And Paul, in I. Corinthians IX, 9-10, in explaining the law (in Deut. XXV, 4), says: It is written in the law of Moses, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn'. Doth God take care of the oxen? or doth He say it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt this is written.

He therefore explains the law to mean that the teachers of religion be supported and provided for, for it would be unworthy of God to concern Himself with oxen and take care of them. To such allegoristic interpretations of the law the Mishnah refers in the saying האומר על קן צפור יגיעו רחמיך?. Whosoever says: 'Do God's mercies extend to the bird's nest? Can God concern Himself with such trivial things?' is to be silenced. We should not listen to such interpretations of the law, which deny the necessity of fulfilling it and observing it practically.

exalt a special doctrine at the cost of essential principles of faith. "The synagog, through its interpreters", observes Dr. Schechter, "recognized the true nature of this apparent repudiation, and continued to give the objectionable doctrine its proper place and proportion among the accepted teachings of Judaism."[144] Thus the above warnings were put aside by the synagog "which continued the tradition of Pseudo-Jonathan to Leviticus XXII:28,[145] and never hesitated to explain such laws on the principle of mercy".[146]

God's Love of Israel:

The Torah, with all its commandments and institutions, even as Repentance and Prayer, was intended for all humanity. Only when the other nations refused to accept this boon of divine grace, was it thrust upon Israel.[147] The universalistic nature of God's love is clear. As the nation that became the standard bearer of the Torah, or God's revelation to man, Israel became, to borrow Goethe's phrase, God's "elective affinity".[148] R. Judah bar Simon, in the name of R. Joshua ben Levi, teaches: "Before you received the Torah, says God, your name was *Israel,* even as the other nations are called *Soba, Ḥabila,* etc. But since you received the Torah, you are called 'My people'; as it is said:[149]

This resentment against the allegoristic method grew greater in Palestine, where there were frequent disputes with the Jewish Christians, who used such allegoristic interpretations of the Scripture in their arguments for the superiority of their new religion. The later Palestinian teachers rejected its use, and tried to suppress it." Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash. *Jewish Quarterly Review,* New Series. Vol. I, pp. 529-530.

144 *Aspects,* p. 10.

145 Berliner's *Targum,* 2:85.

146 Schechter, *Ibid.,* note. cf. *Gen. R.* 75:13; *Deut. R.* 6:1; *Tan. B.* 3:48a; also *Gen. R.* 33:13, with reference to Ps. CXLV:9.

147 v. Byalik and Rabinitzki, *Sefer Ha-Aggadah* I, p. 70ff, and *Midrashim* to Ex. XIX. Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews,* III, p. 80ff.

148 For Ben Sirach's views of God's love for Israel, v. XVII:17; XXIV:8-12; also XLIV-XLIX, and Box and Oesterley's Introduction to Sirach in Charles' A. P. E. vol. I. v. *Tana Debe Elijah* XXV, XXVI.

149 Ps. L:7.

'Hear My people, and I shall speak; Israel, and I shall testify against thee'."[150]

All the vocabulary of love was exhausted in the description of God's devotion to Israel. He called Israel "My daughter" and "My sister". In ten instances Israel is said to be called God's bride".[151] The relation between God and Israel is pictured as being that of man for woman.[152] It is significant that the Song of Songs, the finest love poem in literature, was deprived of its human import and turned into a sacred song, singing of God's mystic love for Israel. Because of this interpretation this poem was acclaimed by Akiba as the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Song.[153] The preachers of the *Midrashim*[154] never wearied of explaining every relation between God and Israel in the light of the Song of Songs. The *Paitanim,* too, attuned their harps to its melody,[155] so that many of their compositions received an erotic tone. This rapturous spirit is felt also in Halevi's numbers,[156] and in the Songs of Israel Najara. Of the latter, Dr. Israel Abrahams writes: "He did not hesitate to put the most passionate words of love for Israel into God's mouth. He was strongly attacked, but the saintly mystic, Isaac Luria, retorted that Najara's hymns were listened to with delight in Heaven—and if ever a man had a right to speak of Heaven it was Luria."[157]

These passages from our post-biblical literature which, but for the limitation of space, might have been multiplied indefinitely, these passages representing God as the Heavenly Father who showers His goodness and His love upon all mankind and especially upon Israel, show that the Jew need not purloin the

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150 *Pesikta,* ed. Buber, XII:168.

151 Ibid., XXII:25.

152 *Yoma* 54b.

153 v. *Midrash R.* to Song of Songs, which is a veritable storehouse of mystic love.

154 v. *Pesikta,* ed. Buber, passim; and *Pesikta Rabbati* passim.

155 cf. *Ahot Ketanot; B'rach Dodi.*

156 v. Section II in vol. I of Harkavi's ed. of Halevi's poems.

157 *The Book of Delight,* p. 239; v. his entire essay on "Hebrew Love Songs", Ibid., pp. 184-241.

doctrine that God is love from other religions; for his whole faith is built on it. The Prayerbook, or rather the Prayerbooks of Israel, in which Jewish theology appears in its most crystallized form, repeatedly refer to God as the Heavenly Father who abounds in mercy and graciously leads the world towards ever greater perfection. The belief in God's over-arching love permeates all Jewish ideas about God's relation to the world, about Creation, Providence, Revelation, and even Retribution.

III. MAN'S LOVE OF GOD

The Great Commandment of Love

Man's love of God—the core of all religion—represents the the response to God's love for man. "Deep calleth unto deep"! It springs not from a sense of external obligation, but—as Abelson so well remarks about worship in general—"from an impulse of the Holy Spirit, that emanation of Himself which He had deposited in the finite heart".[158] The rabbis, philosophers, and mystics, whether they view it from the standpoint of pure intellect, or from that of filial confidence and faith in God, unite in their belief that the love of God is the underlying motive of all pure morality and ritual. Their teachings on this subject cluster round the golden text: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might".[159]

In their characteristic style, the rabbis lay stress upon the applications of each word. Conscious of the fact that religion is often born out of the sense of fear, the rabbis emphasized love as a higher motive of worship.[160] "Greater is he who follows God's precepts out of love than out of fear."[161] This love must come from the *whole heart,* i. e., from both *yezers,* the evil as well as the good inclinations of the heart, or in singleness of

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158 *Immanence,* p. 287.

159 Deut. VI:5.

160 *Sifre* 32; *Yalkut Shim.* 837; v. Bentwich: *Philo,* pp. 162-164.

161 *Sota* 31.

purpose;[162] *whole-souled,* it must be a love unto death.[163] It must not stop short of sacrifice of one's *might* or substance, which many people prize more than their hearts and souls.[164]

Martyrdom

In the view of the saintly teacher, Akiba, the phrase "with all thy might" indicates[165] that it is man's duty to love God even in chastisement. He found support for his belief in the Psalms and in the sublime example of Job's unfaltering devotion to God in suffering. And he offered most eloquent expression of his conviction by his own life. When arrested on the charge of teaching the Torah in violation of the Roman edict, and subjected to inexpressible torture, he cheerfully recited the *Sh^ema,* Israel's confession of the divine Unity. To his disciples who stood amazed at his action he said: "All my life I have worried about the way to love God *'with all the soul';* at last the opportunity has offered itself." No sooner had he uttered the word *Eḥod* (One) than his soul departed. Thereupon, says the *Midrash,* the angels exclaimed before God: "Is this the reward of the Torah, that men die at Your hands?"[166] "But their portion is among the living", rejoined God.[167] And a *Bath Ḳol,* "the divine voice", proclaimed: "Happy art thou, Akiba, for thou art immortal!" (literally: Thou art ready for the life of the world to come).[168] Josephus writes that in the last days of Herod, the Pharisees, whom he calls the Sophists, taught their followers "that it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country,

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162 *Ber.* 61; cf. Ps. LXXXVI:11.

163 *Yalkut,* Ibid.

164 Ibid.

165 By a play on the word "*Meodecho—Bechol Middo u-middo shehu moded loch, ben bemiddat hatob uben lemiddat puroniot*—No matter by what measure He metes out to you, whether by the measure of goodness or by that of chastisement".

166 The reference is to Ps. XVII:14 ממתים ידך יי, literally: "From men by Thy hand, O Lord".

167 A continuation of the verse. חלקם בחיים.

168 *Yalkut,* Ibid.

because the soul was immortal, and an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account, while the mean-spirited and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred death by disease to that which is a sign of virtue."[169] Removing its Hellenistic wrappings, this statement reveals the true spirit of martyrdom—*mesirat hanefesh* —that animated Akiba and hundreds of thousands of other saints who died *al ḳiddush ha-shem*—"for the sanctification of God's name".[170] These martyrs of faith went to their death joyfully, conscious that thereby they were fulfilling the commandment of loving God. Thus they indeed attained the higher immortality! Theirs was a love that laughed at death. The many waters of tribulation could not quench the love of God that burned in their hearts.

Intellectual Love

To the philosophers, man's love for God appeared in the light of the finest flower not only of faith but also of reason. Philo, who, with the Stoics, regarded the human intellect as connected with divine Reason, "being an impression of a fragment or ray of that Blessed Nature",[171] urged: "Let every one on whom God has showered good things pray to God that he may have, as a Dweller within him, the Ruler of all things, Who will raise this small house, the mind, to a great height above the earth, and will connect it with the bounds of heaven."[172]

Saadia, the philosopher of the practical, is of the opinion that man's love for God should not lead him to other-worldliness. His worship should not make him neglect his daily affairs.[173] Baḥya, however, would have man, in his love for God, set his

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169 Cited by Bentwich, *Josephus*, p. 114.

170 *Aggadat Abraham* in *Ozar Midr.*, p. 8, *Asoroh Haruge Malchut*, Ibid., p. 240ff; *Sanh.* 72; *Yalkut* 838; Maim. *Mishna Torah* Bk. I, chap. 5. v. also II Macc. VIII:29; and Kohler's art. "Didascalia" in *Jew. Encyc.* IV:588ff (on Bk. V).

171 On the Creation of the World, LXI.

172 On Fugitives.

173 *Emunot ve deot* X:16.

heart upon God, and devote himself exclusively to meditation upon Him. Thus man partakes of the cup of love for God. Bahya cites the Midrashic comment to the verse in the Song of Songs which reads: "A bundle of myrrh is my beloved unto me; he lieth betwixt my breasts",[174] i. e., even if He brings me into distress and embitters me (a play on the words, "*ẓ'ror ha mor*", reading them "*Mezar li umemar li*"), He shall live in my heart. With Job, Bahya calls: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."[175] Our love for God should be prompted neither by fear of punishment, nor by expectations of reward. It should be the expression of our pure joy in His pure and exalted Being.[176] Maimonides, like Bahya, tempers his rationalism with mysticism when speaking of man's love of God. According to him, the man that serves God out of love cannot be moved by any worldly considerations. "He follows truth because it is truth". He is aware of the fact that not all persons are capable of such love. "Ignorant men, women and children are taught to serve Him out of fear, that in the end they may learn to worship Him out of love". True love of God is like the love of man for woman, only much more intense and refined. It is an attachment of soul to His Being, and a constant meditation upon Him. This love of God is not sensuous but intellectual. It is generated by knowledge.[177] The *Zohar,* too, justifies worship prompted by fear, only because it leads to love, wherein "is found the secret of divine unity. It is love that unites the higher and the lower stages and that lifts everything to that stage where all must be one."[178] Abravanel grapples with the difficulty of man's love of God, since man cannot fully know God, and knowledge forms the prime condition of love. And he answers in true Maimonidean fashion that "God, blessed be He, is loved only in the degree in which He is known. Inas-

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[174] Song of Songs I:13. v. *Midr. R.* to the verse and *Yoma* 88b.

[175] Job XIII:15.

[176] *Ḥobot Ha lebabot*, chap. X:1-2.

[177] *Mishneh Torah*, Bk. I. H. Teshubah, chap. 10. v. also *Sefer Ḥasidim* 14.

[178] *Zohar*, Va-Yakhel, II:216a.

much as His true nature cannot be fully perceived by man, and as His wisdom cannot be attained, He cannot be loved in the degree of which He is worthy, but only according to the human power to love."[179] Man when good "is God-loving as well as God-beloved" and his "love of God leads him to eternal bliss, which is identical with divine love."[180]

Spinoza, in this as well as in many other matters, remained true to the noblest traditions of the synagog, from which he was excommunicated. He writes: "Whosoever clearly and distinctly understands himself and his own mental affections, loves God, and all the more in proportion as he better understands self and its affections."[181] When the dark veil of ignorance is removed from the eye of man, God becomes manifest as the source of all the joy of existence. Man can then "look beyond himself to the glory of the sum of things. The glow of feeling with which such a man responds to the universe" is what Mr. Picton understands Spinoza to mean by "the intellectual love of God".[182]

Ritual a means of Love

Man's love of God, we said, has been the guiding motive of all ritual and morality. With reference to the commandment of love, one rabbi observes: "I know not which way one should love the Holy One, blessed be He; therefore Scripture specifies: 'And these words which I command thee this day shall be in thy heart',[184] which means: place these words upon thy heart, for through them thou wilt know the Holy One, blessed be He, and cleave unto His ways."[185] Schechter finds in these words a warning against "idle spirituality" into which the mystic and his confreres, who delight in revelling in God's love, may lapse—

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179 *Vikw'aḥ al HoAhabah*, p. 6b ff.

180 Cited by Dr. Kohler, art. "Love", *Jew. Encyc.*

181 *Ethics* V, prop. XV; cited by Picton "Spinoza", p. 187.

182 Ibid. In this connection, see Jacob Dubno: *Sefer Hamiddot*, chap. III.

183 Deut. VI:5.

184 Ibid., verse 6.

185 *Sifre* 74a; *Yalkut* 839; cited by Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 78-79.

a spirituality which disregards all ritual obligations. The Jewish mystics were at one with the whole house of Israel in regarding the Torah as a special manifestation of God's love, and therefore believed that one can best commune with God through the Torah and its duties. They indeed vested all the *Mizwot*—duties—with special *Kawanot*—intentions—but did not break them. Hence the somewhat strange union of legalism with mysticism, in the Cabalistic systems.[186] The verse "to love the Lord your God, and to serve Him with all your hearts" is taken to mean prayer.[187] In this sense prayer is regarded in almost all the theological works of the Jewish masters. Thus Maimonides classifies all ritual laws under the heading *"Ahabah"* (Love).[188]

When man's service of God is free from mixed motives, God Himself delights in it. Says R. Azariah, in the name of R. Judah bar Simon: "When the righteous do the will of God, they add strength to the Almighty, as Scripture says:[189] 'May the strength of God be increased.' "[190] Judah bar Simon quotes R. Joshua ben Levi to the effect that Israel's service increases God's strength.[191] God does not delight in isolated grandeur. He longs for all nature and men to act in tune with Him. He reigned supreme before the world was created, yet was not His throne firmly established until the children of Israel proclaimed His kingship.[192]

Morality, an Expression of Love

While God delights in man's worship, He is even more pleased with man's ethical conduct. He even makes man a co-worker in the task of creation. Thus the commandment, "And thou

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[186] H. Vital, *Sha'are Kedusha.*

[187] *Ta'an.* 2. v. the whole section "Ben Odom la-Mokom and Tefilah" in Byalik and Rabinitzki's *Sefer Ho-Aggadah,* II:3, pp. 193-205.

[188] *Mishneh Torah,* Bk. II.

[189] Num. XIV:17.

[190] *Pesikta,* ed. Buber, XXVI:10-12 and note.

כל זמן שהצדיקים עושין רצונו של מקום הם מוסיפים כח בגבורה

[191] Ibid. (referring to Ps. LX:3).

[192] *Ex. R.* 23:1.

shalt love the Lord thy God", was also construed to mean that the name of God be loved through you.[193] Someone has stated that "the true object of religion, the real goal of spiritual progress, is to make every soul reflect the divine." Through his commendable actions the God-loving man leads others to love God. According to another interpretation, this commandment teaches "be loved by men, and remove yourself from transgression, and from robbery whether of a Jew or of a heathen, or of any man, for he who steals from a heathen will in the end steal from a Jew. Robbing a heathen may lead to robbing a co-religionist. Swearing (falsely) to a heathen results in a similar offense against a fellow-Jew. Deceiving a heathen may lead to the deception of a Jew. He who sheds the blood of a heathen will also shed the blood of a Jew. And the Torah was given only for the purpose that God's great name may be sanctified."[194]

IV. MAN'S LOVE OF MAN

The doctrine of brotherly love which, in the Bible, gradually asserted itself above that of retaliation,[195] retained its commanding position in the ethical thought of post-biblical literature. The duty to love God reached its culmination in the love of one's fellow men; so that the author of the Wisdom of Solomon could summarize the whole matter in this pointed sentence, "Thou

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[193] *Yalkut* 838; *Tana Debe Elijah, R.* XXVIII. *Yoma* 86.

[194] *Tana Debe Elijah, R.* XXVIII.

[195] This primitive law (Ex. XXI:24-25) growing out of the instinctive desire on the part of man to avenge wrongs done to him, was raised to a law of "divine procedure". As Judges I:6, 7, indicates, the belief was shared by the people that in the divine economy, man is dealt with by God as he deals with his own fellows. (So also in II Macc., Jubilees, and in the Talmud.) This conscienciousness, in turn, led to the radical transformation and finally to the abrogation of the original law. cf. Ps. XVIII:25 sq. Hence, the book of Proverbs' counsel against vengeance (XXIV:29; XX:22; XXV:21, 22, also Job XXXI:29ff). The legalists as well as the moralists enjoin forgiveness; v. Ex. XXIII:4, 5; Deut. XXII:1-3. Punishment is left to God. (Deut. XXXII:35, 43.)

didst teach Thy people by such works as these (referring to God's mercy) that the righteous must be a lover of men."[196]

Love of God and Love of Neighbor

Christianity claims the credit for conjoining the commands to love God and to love one's neighbor. But as this passage in the Wisdom of Solomon clearly indicates, this was the trend of the entire body of Jewish religious thought. Mr. Charles, who shows very little partiality towards Judiasm, is compelled to admit that the Jewish masters anticipated the founder of Christianity in this respect. He finds the earliest literary authority for it in the Testament of Dan, written more than a century before the Christian era,

> "Love the Lord through all thy life,
> And one another with a true heart."[197]

The whole of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs—a book of Pharasaic origin—is conceived in the same spirit. Issachar commands his sons to keep the law of God in singleness of heart and in guilelessness, and to "love the Lord and your neighbor", also to have compassion on the poor and weak.[198] Zebulun, likewise, orders his children "to keep the commands of the Lord, and to show mercy to your neighbor, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts.[199] . . . Have compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbor, even so also will the Lord do to him."[200] According to Philo, the Essenes emphasized this three-fold doctrine: "Love of God, love of manhood (self-control), and love of man".[201] Philo, too, taught that "he who

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[196] Wisd. Sol. XII:19.

[197] *Testament of Twelve Patriarchs, T. Dan* V:3.

[198] *Ibid., T. Issach.* V:1; also in VII:6.

[199] On compassion towards animals, rabbinic ethics is most insistent.

[200] *Ibid., T. Zebul.* V:I-3; also VII:2 and VIII:1; *T. Benj.* III:3, X:3.

[201] *De Vita Contemplata*, ed Conybeare, p. 53ff. Cited by Kohler, art. Essenes; *Joseph. B. J.* II:8, par. 2.

loves God but does not show love towards his own kind, has but the half of virtue".[202]

The Golden Rule

The duty to love one's fellow man is emphasized not only in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,[203] by the Essenes and by Philo,[204] but also by the much maligned teachers of legalistic Judaism. Akiba regarded the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself", as a leading principle of the Torah.[205] This conviction of his doubtlessly grew out of his belief that man is created in the image of God.[206] Before Akiba, Hillel taught, "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving thy fellow creatures, and drawing them near to the Torah."[207]

Hillel, while teaching the positive duty of loving one's fellow creatures, also summarized the intent of the whole Torah, to the impatient Roman, in the words: "What is hateful to thee, do not to thy fellowman."[208] Much emphasis has been laid on Hillel's negative formulation of the Golden Rule. Many Jewish teachers as well as Christian scholars have sought to find in it the peculiar tendency of Judaism toward justice, in contradistinction to the positive statement of the Golden Rule by Jesus,[209] typical of the Christian emphasis of love. The trouble with this sophistry is that it overlooks the fact that this saying was

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202 *De Decal.* XXIII.

203 *T. Reub.* VI:9; *T. Sim.* IV:7.

204 v. Bentwich: *Philo*, pp. 117-118.

205 *Sifra* to Lev. XIX:18, and *Yalkut Shim.* 614, and Rashi (ed. Berliner) to Lev. XIX:18. v. also *Jer. Nedar.* 8:9. cf. *Gen. R.* XXIV:5.

206 *Abot* III:14; also *Gen. R.* XXXIV. This was also the view of Ben. Azai, Ibid.

207 *Abot* I:12.

208 *Sab.* 31a; following a current Targumic construction of Lev. XIX:18. It also occurs in the Armenian version of the *Story of Aḥikar*, chap. II:88 (in Charles' *A. P. E.* and *Hebrew Test. Naphtali* I:6b.

209 Matthew VII:12, and in a somewhat briefer form in Luke VI:31.

given to the Roman while he stood on one foot; and that, had he been endowed with a more generous share of patience, he would undoubtedly have heard Hillel's other doctrine, stating as a positive duty for man to "be of the disciples of Aaron . . . loving thy fellow creatures".

Furthermore, this distinction between the positive and negative forms of the Golden Rule was of small importance to the early Christians. In their writings, the negative form appears by the side of the positive. The recently recovered Apology of Aristides, in giving a summary of Christian belief and practice, states, "Whatever they do not wish to be done to them, they do not do to another".[210] Neither were the Jewish teachers conscious of a radical distinction between the two. Thus Tobit states the positive duty to love one's brethren, and then also the negative form of the Golden Rule. He says to his son: "My child, *love thy brethren,* and scorn not in thy heart thy brethren and the sons and daughters of thy people so as not to take one of them, for in scornfulness is destruction and much trouble. . . . Take heed to thyself, my child, in all thy works, and be discreet in all thy behavior. And what thou hatest, do to no man."[211] The *Didache*—a first century manual of instruction for Proselytes, which, according to Dr. Kohler, was "adopted from the synagog by early Christianity, and transformed by alteration and modification into a Church manual"[212]—likewise presents both the positive duty to love one's fellows, and the negative form of the Golden Rule. Its distinctly Jewish part is summarized thus in the opening two verses: "There are two ways, one of life and one of death; and wide is the difference between them. The

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[210] W. A. Spooner, art. "Golden Rule", Hastings' *Encyc. Rel. and Ethics.* VI:310-312.

[211] Tobit IV:15-21. Graetz assigns the book of Tobit to the time of Hadrian. Mr. Simpson believes that it was written about 170 B. C. E. v. his introduction to the Book in Charles' A. P. E., vol. I:185. The Aramaic version of the Golden Rule, as given in the book, is

ודסנאי לך לחורני לא תעביד.

[212] Kohler in art. Didache, *Jew. Encyc.* IV:585-587. v. also Harnack, art. Didache in the *New Schaf-Herzog* III:422.

way of life is this: thou shalt love God thy Maker;[213] second, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.[214] Now the teaching of these two words is this: whatsoever thou wouldst not have done unto thee, neither do thou to another."[215] This manual, Jewish in origin and Christian by adoption, fairly represents the two positions of both Judaism and Christianity. Whatever difference is drawn between Jewish and Christian ethics on the basis of the positive and negative formulations of the Golden Rule, is mere hair-splitting. Both forms grow out of the older Jewish commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself".[216] This commandment, contrary to the claims of non-

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213 After Deut. VI:5.

214 After Lev. XIX:18.

215 Cited by Kohler, art. Didache, Ibid. v. his art. "Didascalia" ibid., p. 588-594.

216 v. also E. G. Hirsch's art. "Golden Rule", *Jew. Encyc.* VI:21-22, and Kohler's art. "Brotherly Love", *Jew. Encyc.* III:397-398. Professor Lauterbach writes (The Ethics of the Halacha, *C. C. A. R. Yearbook* XXIII:255-6): "It is well known that, when Jesus declared the commandment, 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' (Lev. XIX:18) to be the second greatest commandment of the law (Matt. XXII:39), he merely repeated what every Jewish teacher before and during his time had taught. There was, however, a great difference between the Jewish conception and application of this noble principle and the Christian understanding of the same. The Jewish teachers in declaring this principle to be the fundamental principle of the religion, the whole Law, taught at the same time that the rest of the Law also had its legitimate place; that the other commandments leading up to this consummation of the Law must also be observed. As Hillel expressed it, 'all the rest is merely a commentary', but a commentary which one must know, 'Go and study it', in order to learn from it how to apply correctly the one principle, the golden rule. Christianity has accepted the text of Leviticus XIX:18, without the Commentary, the golden rule without the whole system of its practical application. The Law was declared as abrogated. Paul said, 'All the law is fulfilled in one word'. (Galatians V:14.) But the result was that the so-called fulfillment of the Law remained merely a word. The Love preached by Christianity did not prove to be that love which 'worked no ill to his neighbor'. (Romans XIII:10.) Quite to the contrary, it wrought great harm. The principle, 'love thy neighbor as thyself', was for many centuries upon the lips of Christian nations without any influence upon their character and conduct. They even committed the most

Jewish scholars, was understood by the Jewish masters to apply not to the Jewish neighbor alone, but also to all other men. Hillel and his followers, by the use of the phrase *ehab es ha beriyot*—"love all creatures", clearly include all mankind under the law of love. Furthermore, Hillel taught the Golden Rule to a heathen, which proves that he in no wise restricted its application to Jews.[217]

Hatred Towards the Enemy

The writings of the New Testament which are not exceedingly complimentary to the Pharisees, contain a calumnious statement in regard to the Jewish doctrine of love. In the Sermon on the Mount, we read these words of Jesus, spoken to the multitude: "Ye have heard that it was said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thy enemy', but I say unto you, Love your enemies."[218] The whole range of Jewish literature has been ransacked in search of the law that ordains the duty to hate one's enemy; but thus far, it is not yet in sight. Several Christian scholars have endeavored to uphold, at all hazards, this groundless assertion. Charles points to the infelicitous expressions in the Psalms,[219] about the enemies; and insists that these "more than justify our Lord's summary of the teaching of the Old Testament on this question in Matthew V:43: 'Ye have heard that it was said: Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thy enemy'."[220] Bousset, showing the class divisions in Jewish life, and what he calls "the churchly character of Jewish ethics", says that the word of Jesus "though very sharply pointed, is not unjust".[221]

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horrible crimes and perpetrated the most cruel acts of hatred in the name of that very religion of love. The voice was the voice of Jacob, repeating the Jewish teachings of brotherly love, but the hands remained the bloody hands of Esau inflicting injury and evil."

[217] cf. *Jew. Encyc.* art. "Golden Rule".

[218] Matt. V:43.

[219] Psalms XLI:10; LIV:4, 5, 7; CXII:9, 8; CXXXVII:9.

[220] *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments*, p. 141.

[221] *Die Religion des Judentums in Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, p. 113. "Die Frage der juedischen Schriftgelehrten, wer ist mein

Schechter, however, has well observed that "after the declaration made by Jesus of his attachment to the Torah, it is not likely that he would quote passages from it showing its inferiority". He further suggests that the only way to get over the difficulty is to assume that Jesus used the formula current in rabbinic exegesis: *Shome'a ani . . . talmud lomar*—I might hear so and so; therefore there is a teaching to say that, etc." As applied to the passage in question, Jesus may have meant to say: From the commandment, "Love thy neighbor", you may be led to infer that you are are to hate your enemies. Therefore I say unto you that Scripture teaches: love also your enemies.[222] The rabbinic idiom in the original saying of Jesus, mistranslated into Greek, gave rise to the perverted view of Pharisaic ethics.

Forgiveness

The most convincing refutation of this charge of the New Testament writer is supplied by Jewish teaching on the question of forgiveness. Ben Sirach counselled:

> "Forgive thy neighbor the hurt that he has done thee,
> And then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest.
> Man cherishes anger against man,
> And does he seek healing from the Lord?
> Upon a man like himself he hath no mercy,
> And does he make supplication for his sins?"[223]

Naechster, war in der That ganz ernsthaft gemeint, and Jesu Gleichnis vom barmherzigen Samariter war eine Antwort auf diese Frage. Und das Wort, mit dem Jesus die juedische Ethik zusammenfassend characterisiert: 'Du sollst Deinen Naechsten lieben und Deinen Feind hassen', ist zwar sehr scharf pointiert, aber doch nicht ungerecht. Wir muessen uns nur klar werden, dass dieser selbe Vorwurf bis zu einem gewissen Grade alle specifisch kirchliche Ethik trifft, dass z. B. das Johannes-evangelium and die Briefe des Johannes in der Beschraenkung der Liebe auf die Kinder Gottes, in dem Hass gegen die Juden und Haeretiker eine kirchliche Verengung aufweist, die nur graduell von der Ethik der juedischen Kirche sich unterscheidet."

222 Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 2d Series, p. 117.

223 Sirach XXVIII:2-3. This rendering by Schechter (*Studies in*

On the same grounds the ungrateful Nadan asks Aḥikar's forgiveness.[224] Still loftier heights are reached in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,[225] which according to Charles' admission anticipates the teachings of Jesus on many subjects. The whole book is filled with the loftiest sentiments of love and forbearance. Joseph is pictured as the saint who bore no malice to those that hated him. He did not afflict them in the least; and did all in his power to help them. His example is commended to all, "Do ye also love one another, and with long suffering hide ye one another's faults, for God delighteth in the unity of brethren and in the purpose of a heart that takes pleasure in love."[226] Gad urges upon his children to remove hatred from their hearts, "for as love would quicken even the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that have sinned venially it would not suffer to live, for the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to men's death. But the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering, unto the salvation of men".[227] . . . "He that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, being reproved not of another, but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh on his inclination. . . . Fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he

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Judaism, 2 Series, p. 94) is better than Box and Oesterley's in Charles' *A. P. E.*

[224] *Ahikar,* Syr. VIII:34; Arab. VIII:29; Armen. VIII:24b.

[225] Charles writes: "There is a genuine Jewish work of the second century in which a doctrine of forgiveness is taught that infinitely transcends the teaching of Sirach, and is almost as noble as that of the New Testament. Moreover, this doctrine of forgiveness does not stand as an isolated glory in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as in other Jewish writings, but is in keeping with the entire ethical character of that remarkable book, which proclaims in an ethical setting that God created man in His image, that the law was given to lighten every man, that salvation was for all mankind through conversion to Judaism, and that a man should love both God and his neighbor." Ibid., p. 153.

[226] *T. Jos.* XVII:2-3; cf. *T. Zeb.* VIII:5; *T. Benj.* IV:1-4; V:4b; VIII:1-2.

[227] *T. Gad.* IV:6-7.

will not do wrong to any man, even in thought."[228] . . . "And now, my children, I exhort you, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts; love one another in deed and in word and in the inclination of the soul . . . Love ye one another from the heart, and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile. And if he repent and confess, forgive him.[229] But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him lest, catching the poison from thee, he take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly. . . . And though he deny it, yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him, for he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee. Yea, he may also honor thee, and fear and be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrongdoing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging."[230]

The noble sentiments of these passages found expression also in other Jewish writings. Philo speaks of the Law's "teaching men by remote examples not to be delighted at the unexpected misfortunes of those that hate them". He also shows that, through conferring a favor on an enemy, there "follows of necessity a dissolution of the enmity".[231] The rabbis teach: "From the commandment, 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart', you might infer that you may not strike him, slap him in the face, or curse him. Therefore Scripture specifies 'in thy heart', i. e., you may not hate him even in thought".[232] "Judge every man favorably;"[233] or still better, "Judge not your fellow man

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228 Ibid. V:1-5. cf. *T. Benj.* III:4b-5.

229 Another version of the last verse reads: "Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him."

230 *T. Gad.* VI:1-7. See Charles' discussion of the Ethics of forgiveness in Judaism and Christianity, in his Introduction to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, A. P. E.*, p. 293, where he misrepresents Judaism. v. also *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* IX:50-X:6.

231 *De Humanitate*, 15; cited by Charles, *Rel. Development bet. the Old and the New Testaments*, p. 149; cf. 2 *Enoch* L:4(a).

232 *Arak.* 16; cf. *Yoma* 23.

233 *Abot* I:6.

until you have come to his place."[234] He who causes his fellow man to suffer punishment is excluded from the immediate presence of God.[235] The Day of Atonement does not remove a man's sin until he has obtained his neighbor's forgiveness.[236] Even if he wronged his neighbor in word of mouth only, he should endeavor to propitiate him.[237] The neighbor in turn must not nurse his wrong, but should be ready to forgive even as God forgives offenses against Him.[238] They who forgive their fellow men may expect to be forgiven by God, but they who show no mercy to others cannot expect the mercy of God.[239]

The Jewish Ideal of Conduct

In the Jewish ideal of conduct, love and forgiveness, not hatred nor vengeance, hold the foremost place, as is evident from this frequently used passage: "They who though offended do not offend, though insulted do not reply, who do God's will out of love and rejoice even in chastisement, of them Scripture says,[240] 'His beloved ones are as the sun rising in might'."[241] The same spirit is voiced in the talmudic prayer, which forms part of our rituals: "O my God! Guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile; and to such as curse me, let my soul be dumb, yea, let my soul be unto all as dust. . . . If any design evil against me, speedily (do Thou) make their counsel of none effect, and frustrate their designs, in order that Thy beloved ones may be delivered."[242]

Forgiveness and love purge man of the weakness of pride and vain glory, and endow him with saintliness. Hatred, on the other hand, is condemned as the equivalent of bloodshed.[243] He

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[234] *Abot* II:5.
[235] *Sab.* 149.
[236] *Yoma* VIII:7.
[237] *Yoma* 87a.
[238] *Mechilta* 37a; *Sab.* 133b.
[239] *Megil.* 28; cf. *Sab.* 151; *Yoma* 87b.
[240] Judges V:31.
[241] *Yoma* 22a; *Sab.* 88b; *Yalkut Shim.* 613.
[242] *Ber.* 17a; *Prayerbook*, ed. Singer, p. 54.
[243] *Derech Erez* XII.

who hates an Israelite hates Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the grand-sires of Israel.[244] In the spirit of Hillel and Akiba, the Jewish masters felt that he who hates any man hates God, in whose likeness man is made. Ḥayim Vital, emphasizing the belief that all souls root in God, taught: "Let man love all creatures, including gentiles, and let him envy none."[245] Dr. Schechter, calling attention to the fact that this is the distinct precept of the Jewish saint of the sixteenth century, adds that he knows of no Christian saint of the same period who "made the love of the Jew a condition of saintliness".[246] Claude Montefiore notes a further observation of this scholar that, "while St. Francis spoke of his 'brother wolf' and of his 'little sisters, the doves', he would hardly have spoken of his brother Turk, heretic, or Jew".[247]

An eighteenth century commentator of Ḥayim Vital's *Shaare Ḳedusha* (Gates of Holiness), declares that true brotherly love recognizes no barriers of nationality or language, and is directed solely to man as man. If it is withdrawn from the savage or criminal, it is for the good of society as a whole; for social welfare may demand the execution of a criminal even as the health of a man's body may call for the amputation of a diseased limb. Brotherly love minimizes the dangers of social misery, and improves the chances of social happiness. He concludes that, whether viewed "from the standpoint of nature, reason, or tradition, love of one's neighbor appears as a permanent duty, taking precedence over the search after truth, and scientific pursuits; it is even more precious than wisdom and the honor of the holy Torah". . . . "And do not wonder that there is anything superior to the Torah; for inasmuch as the Torah ordains and commands it, love is not extraneous to, but a part of the Torah".[248]

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[244] Cited by Schechter, *Studies in Jud.*, 2d Ser., p. 168.

[245] Ibid.; *Shaare Kedusha*, chap. I:5.

[246] Ibid.

[247] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 426, note 1.

[248] *Sefer Haberit hasholem*, by R. Phineas Elijah b. Meir of Wilna, part II, chap. XIII:1-12.

"The love of your neighbor shall be literally as of 'thyself', i. e., as each limb of your body responds to the needs of the other, so shall you conduct yourself towards your neighbor. It is, therefore, not sufficient for you to abstain from harming him yourself, but you must strive to ward off all evil from him, even when threatened from other sources."[249] Thus the negative form of the Golden Rule is supplemented by the positive. The one asks that no evil be done to one's neighbor, the other demands that good be done him.[250]

Mercy is a distinguished characteristic of the children of Abraham.[251] They are *Raḥᵃmanim bᵉne Raḥᵃmanim*—"merciful sons of merciful fathers". This trait was formed by the long training of the Jew in the principle of *Imitatio Dei*, morality's highest goal. Schechter writes: "It is remarked that his God-likeness is confined to his manifestations of mercy and righteousness, the rabbis rarely desiring the Jew to take God as a model in His attributes of severity and rigid justice, though the Bible

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249 Ibid., 13.

250 Our author argues that, in its negative form, the Golden Rule admits of no difference between oneself and one's neighbor: "What is hateful to thee, do not to thy fellowman". In the positive form, however, a certain difference between oneself and one's neighbor has to be recognized. While in duty bound to do good to his neighbor, a man cannot, by the very nature of things, be expected to do as much for his neighbor as for himself. Except for rare instances, one's own life precedes that of the neighbor. (*B. Mez.* 62a.) Consequently the duty of love towards one's fellowman assumes a somewhat restricted form: You must do for your neighbor what you expect him to do for you; i. e. love him sincerely, respect him, sympathize with him, receive him kindly, judge him favorably, help him at the cost of sacrifice to yourself, never be overbearing with him. (*Sefer Haberit*, Ibid. 18.) Moses Ḥayim Luzzato would recognize no such distinction: "The Torah teaches the all-inclusive principle: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself', i. e., as thyself without difference, as thyself without divisions, evasions, or devices." *Mesilat Yesharim*, XI. Though differing in degree, the love of oneself and the love of one's fellowman do not differ in kind, for true love must be in consonance with justice and self-respect. (v. Mendelsohn's *Commentary to Lev.* XIX:18.)

251 *Beza* 32; *Ket.* 8b; *Yeb.* 79; *Gen. R.* 58:9; *Sefer Ḥasidim* 11, 20ff. v. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 201ff.

could have furnished them with many instances of this latter kind."[252] Jealousy, revenge, and punishment are left to God; but man must do justice and follow mercy. Men should not insist upon the letter of the law, for on account of this sin Jerusalem was destroyed.[253] They should endeavor ever to act according to the law of goodness.[254] "Be careful not to be unmerciful, because he who keeps back his compassion from his neighbor is to be compared to the idolator and to the one who throws off the yoke of heaven from himself."[255]

Gemilut Hasodim

Thus the commandment of brotherly love, in itself the outgrowth of the duty of loving God, leads us back to its parent source. Love of God and love of man, according to Jewish construction, are two sides of the same shield, but two expressions of one and the same religious spirit. From this spirit emanated the whole system of *Gemilut Hasodim* (loving-kindness), which is by far more comprehensive than *zedakah*. Originally expressing the idea of righteousness, *zedakah* came to stand for charity or almsgiving to the poor. *Gemilut Hasodim* expresses the personal care that one takes of his fellowman, be he rich or poor. It also includes the respect paid the dead. While the very practice of charity or *zedakah* fills the world with love,[256] charity is valuable only according to the loving spirit that prompts it. Rightly, therefore, did R. Simlai declare that the Torah begins and ends with loving-kindness.[257]

This loving spirit permeated the criminal code. Akiba teaches: the doctrine "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself",

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252 Ibid.

253 *B. Mez.* 13b.

254 v. Schechter, Ibid., p. 215-216, 226-227.

255 *Sifre* 98b; cited by Schechter, Ibid., p. 231ff.

256 Suk. 49b.

257 *Sota* 14. Excellent summaries of rabbinic doctrine on Charity may be found in *Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer*, ed. Friedlander, XII, XVII, XXIV; in Byalik and Rabnitzki's *Sefer HoAggadah* III: 268ff; and in Dr. Kohler's essay on "The Historical Development of Jewish Charity", *Hebrew Union College and Other Addresses*, pp. 229-252.

as applied to the criminal, means that it is your duty to find for him a humane form of execution.[258] "This", writes Dr. Kohler, "became the guiding principle for the entire penal law in the rabbinic Halacha, as one who reads the Mishna, the Gemara, and the Sifre, can see."[259] Therein did the Pharisaic Code distinguish itself for its leniency as compared with the older Sadducean Code which it replaced.

Reflection of Divine Love upon Human Love

Divine love casts its reflection also upon human sexual love. In the light of religion, passion's putrid flowers could not thrive. Jewish literature celebrates chaste conjugal love, and extols the virtues of fidelity and purity. Unlike the Essenes and the early Christians, the Pharisaic masters did not encourage celibacy. "Neither was the cult of virginity considered a desirable element in religion, as was the case in the Christian Church." Gerald Friedlander adds that the emphasis laid on the divine participation in Adam's nuptials may have been intended "to counteract the attitude of the Church[260] towards marriage."[261] The traditional marriage ceremony praises God, in whose image man is made, for creating a help-mate for man.[262] To the Jewish teachers marriage, as the means for the preservation of the human race, was a divine institution.[263] The very term for marriage *kiddushin*—"consecration"— expresses the idea of holiness. Maimonides arranges in his code all the laws of marriage under the heading *kedushah*—"holiness".[264] Nachmanides, in his "sacred letter", tries to show "how even such functions as were declared by other religions as distinctly animalic can, with the saint, be elevated into moments of worship and religious exalta-

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[258] *Yalkut Shim.* 613; *Tosefta San.* IX:11; *B. Sanh.* 45a.

[259] *Sanh.: Mish.* IV:1; *Tos.* IX:7; *Gen.* 46b. Halachic Portions in Josephus' Antiquities, *Hebrew Union College Monthly*, vol. III, p. 112ff.

[260] Corinth. VII:8; Matt. XIX:10, 12.

[261] *P. D. R. E.*, p. 107, note. 2.

[262] *Ket.* 8a; *Prayerbook*, ed. Singer, p. 229.

[263] *Sefer HoAggadah* III:5, p. 47ff.

[264] Kohler, art. Ethics, *Jew. Encyc.* V:251.

tion."[265] Other moralists likewise treat the most intimate moments of sex life not so much from the standpoint of hygiene as from that of holiness.

Marriage being divinely ordained, we can understand the view of the Aggadists that since the completion of creation, God has been employing His leisure time in the role of *Shadchan* (marriage-broker). [266] This conviction was coined into the popular proverb: Marriages are made in Heaven.

Curiously enough, Rab prohibited the marrying of a woman whom the groom had not seen, on the basis of the Golden Rule, for he might dislike her, and break the commandment of the Merciful One: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself". All Jewish idealism tended towards making the love between husband and wife the sanctifying force in the home. In the light of its sacred flame, the family life of the Jewish people received a lustre all its own. The tender relations of husband and wife had a beneficent influence on the children. In their love for the child, the parents are duty-bound to lead it to the Torah, i. e., to the knowledge of God and to noble deeds. The child, in turn, honors God by loving and respecting its parents.[267]

Divine love also ennobles and strengthens the ties of friendship. In Jewish literature, the highest place is assigned not to emotional nor even to intellectual, but to religious friendships. To the Jewish teachers, friendships are what Lazarus aptly calls "ideals of spiritual fellowship", prompted by unselfish disinterested motives. The finest example of true friendship, the rabbis

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[265] Schechter, *Studies in Jud.*, 2d Ser., p. 176.

[266] *Gen. R.* 68; *Lev. R.* 29; *Pesikta.* v. Israel Abrahams' *"The Book of Delight and Other Papers"*, pp. 172-183, 307.

[267] *Sefer HoAggadah* III:5, p. 68-80. Moritz Lazarus writes: "The love of parents for their children is nature, the love of children for elders is ethics. Hence we find that the Ten Commandments and other passages in the Torah make filial love a legal bidding; parental love need not be commanded. Accordingly, in the ethics of Judaism a long chapter is devoted, not to love for children, but to spiritual caretaking of them, to the cherishing and transmitting of culture, the instruction and discipline of the young." *Ethics of Judaism*, Part II, p. 213.

find in the love of David and Jonathan. Such love, depending on no material object, springing freely from pure souls, is endowed with the qualities of endurance.[268] The ends and motives of friendship should be mutual improvement. "Love him that correcteth thee; and hate him that flattereth thee." "Love that stops short at reproving a man for his evil doing is not true love."[269] Friendship should be fed on mutual loyalty and respect: "Let the honor of your friend be as dear to you as your own". "Love the friend that is true to thee", says a medieval author, "and let his companionship be kept by thee. Devote thyself to him with might and main, when he stands in need of thy help, for this is the most generous form of love; it is the most glorious kind of affection, resulting from companionship."[270]

CONCLUSION

In the Pirke De Rabbi Eliezer, we read about the two ways which God set before Israel. "The good way", says the author, "has two byways, one of righteousness and the other of love; and Elijah, be he remembered for good, is placed exactly between these two ways. When [Israel] comes to enter (one of these ways), Elijah, be he remembered for good, cries aloud concerning him, saying: 'Open ye the gates that the righteous nation which keepeth truth may enter in'.[271] And there cometh Samuel the prophet [who, like Elijah, sought to reconcile God and man] and he places himself between these two byways. He says: 'On which of these (two byways) shall I go? If I go on the way of righteousness, then (the path) of love is better than the former; if I go on the way of love, (the way) of righteousness is better; but I call heaven and earth to be my witness that I will not give up either of them."[272]

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[268] *Abot* V:19.

[269] *Ab. R. N.* XXIX.

[270] *The Foundation of Religious Fear*, translated by H. Gollancz chap. XVIII, par. 183. v. also Guttmacher's art. on "Friendship" in *Jew. Encyc.* V:520-521; and Lazarus, Ibid., p. 299.

[271] Is. XXVI:2.

[272] *P. D. R. E.*, chap. XV.

Judaism, as the survey of its literature demonstrates, takes the second position. Resting on the faith that sees in God a beneficent Sovereign of nature and a universal Father of mankind, whose attribute is *Rahᵃmana*, the Merciful One, Judaism recognizes in Justice and in Mercy sister-voices, guiding the destinies of man, and calling moral order out of the chaos and confusion resulting from selfishness and hatred. In its view, *justice and mercy do not supplant, but supplement each other.* Aḥad Ha'am finds the difference between the two to consist in this, "that justice measures the cause by the effect; mercy, the effect by the cause. That is to say, justice regards only the character of the deed, and judges the doer accordingly; mercy considers first the character of the doer at the moment of the deed, and judges the deed accordingly."[273] In the process of moral development, justice precedes mercy. "Children and nations in their childhood, distinguish only between deeds, not between doers. They exterminate evil by rooting out the evil-doers and all that is connected with them; they do not discriminate between the sin of compulsion and the sin of free will, between the sin committed with knowledge and that committed in ignorance. The angry child breaks the thing over which he has stumbled; nations in the stage of childhood kill the beast 'through which hurt hath come to a man'. It is only at a later stage and by gradual process that mercy finds its way first into the human mind, to refine our moral ideas, and then also into the human heart, to purify and to soften the feelings."[274] Thus Judaism tempers

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[273] *Selected Essays*, translated by Leon Simon, p. 46.

[274] From the premises of Aḥad Ha'am, we may be warranted in assuming that in his view, the Jewish idea of justice, not in its origin but in its final development, is inseparable from that of mercy, for both the late biblical and the talmudic law never judge an act without reference to the particular circumstances that led to its performance; i. e., it regards the sinner as well as the sin. Further in his essay, however, he writes: "Mercy stands high on the ladder of moral development; but justice is the moral foundation on which the ladder stands." This position of Elijah, he supports by Adam Smith's rather dubious definition of "conscience", as being "nothing but the echo of a man's own pronouncement on the sin of others". He writes:

justice with love, thereby saving justice from hardness; and it keeps love within the restraint of justice, thereby saving love from degenerating into vapid sentimentalism.

No one religion, happily, can lay claim to an exclusive monopoly on either justice or love. These are the oxygen and the hydrogen of which every religious stream is composed. All hearts pine for love and thirst for righteousness. They all, even if it be in somewhat differing ways, quench their thirst at God's fountain. Hence without minimizing or denying the right of Christianity to the ideals of love and of forgiveness, we firmly maintain that, both before and after entering Christianity, these ideals formed essential parts of Judaism—flesh of its flesh, spirit of its spirit! Its complete world-view is colored by them. God is the Merciful One, and He demands the service of mercy and loving-kindness. We approach Him "not in reliance upon righteousness or merit in ourselves", "but trust-

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"So long as the feeling of justice predominates, men become accustomed from their youth to hate abstract evil as such, and to loathe evil-doers, without much inquiry into the distant causes that have led to the evil act; and, by a further development, they learn to gauge their own actions also by the measure with which they gauge the actions of others. It is not so when the atmosphere is one of mercy only. Then it is not the evil deed, but the evil *will* that awakens the moral feeling; then a man is absolved from justice, if he can be excused by an appeal to the hidden facts of his spiritual life. Such an atmosphere as this does not encourage the utterance of 'man's pronouncement on the sins of others'; and therefore the inward echo of this voice—conscience—is also silent". (Ibid., pp. 49-50.)

At least the Jewish conception of conscience is at variance with Adam Smith's. It is expressed in the mystic phrase, which Ahad Ha'am mentions, but passes over, "the voice of God moving in the heart of man". It is not—as he holds—the echo of man's judgment over the sins of others, but the spark of the divine ideal glowing in the human heart, illumining man's path to holiness, to kindness, to generosity, to forgiveness, and to love. In other words, instead of being a purely sociological phenomenon, conscience, in Jewish ethics, appears rather as a religious expression of man's nature, drawing its vitality from the central principle of *Imitatio Dei*, of modelling one's actions after the divine pattern. v. M. Gaster's art. "Conscience" in Hasting's *Encyc. Rel. and Ethics*, IV:41-46.

ing in" His "*infinite mercy* alone."[275] All duties of man culminate in the great commandment, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Philosophers have indeed tried to show how impracticable it is to command man to love, and how utterly impossible it is for man to love his neighbor as himself.[276] Despite its practical difficulties, the command is one of the loftiest ever given to man, one of the purest echoes of the Divine Voice in the human heart. Like the stars, it is high above the clod. Nevertheless, with the sage of Concord, we must believe in hitching the wagon to the star. For the religious soul, the course of love "runs smooth". The mystic, Moses Cordovero, teaches Love your neighbor as yourself because the souls of both of you are interrelated and united in their essence as in their origin.[277] The modern Jewish philosopher, Moritz Lazarus, states, "The Torah demands in simple words: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'. And why 'as thyself'? Because he is as thou art—a human being, the child of God, thy brother by virtue of the most exalted relation sustained by man."[278] Love of one's neighbor, respect for his person, vital and disinterested concern about his honor, station and wellbeing, should be the guiding passion and principle of man's conduct.

Our sages spoke wisely: *olam hesed yiboneh*—"the world is built on love". The divine throne rests upon it. It is the foun-

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[275] *Tana Debe Elijah;* Prayerbook, Morning Service.

[276] v. Rabbinic Commentaries of Nachmanides and Samuel b. Meir to Lev. XIX:18; especially that of Moses Mendelsohn.

[277] *Tomer Deborah.*

[278] *Ethics of Judaism*, Part II, p. 238. Lazarus writes: "Before this impregnable barrier of his finite nature, man must tear down the barrier of egotism; love should step into the breach made by adverse fate, and the wounds dealt by destiny should be healed by loving-kindness and charity. But not for the feeble and the unfortunate alone should our benefactions be reserved; to the happy we must be equally ready to offer ungrudging sympathy, friendly feeling, warm devotion. The pathos of sorrow should evoke our sympathy, and in the joy of the happy we should rejoice. It should be our effort not only to lessen the affliction of the sad, but to increase the gladness of the favored sons of men." (Ibid., pp. 236-237.)

dation of all hope in the humanization of man, in the true progress of humanity. Though nature be "red in tooth and claw", though man maddened with lust of strife reject God and rage against his brother, we believe—we *must* believe—that Goodness is at the heart of all, that love is "creation's final law". This belief is our pole-star. For us as for our fathers, human love is still the golden chain that binds us to the Mercy-throne of God.

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FREEDOM OF THE WILL IN TALMUDIC LITERATURE

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OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

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- B. Physical Aspect—Heredity
- C. Psychological Aspect—Habit
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INTRODUCTION

The problem of free-will is an old one. Philosophers in every generation arise to defend one side or the other of this problem with all their learning and ingenuity. It is found in the literatures of all peoples. In Judaism it is found in the Bible, in Graeco-Jewish literature, in talmudic literature and in the works of the Jewish philosophers of the middle ages—in fact, there is no phase of Jewish literature from the earliest times until the present day in which the problem of free-will does not appear.

The problem is an important one for human conduct—in fact, a man's attitude and reaction toward the complex problems of human life depend upon *his* solution of the ubiquitous problem of *liberum arbitrium.* From one point of view, he may think of himself as a mere tool in the hands of the master workman, or the result of circumstances having no more freedom to guide his destiny than has the nature-painted leaf at the mercy of the autumn winds. Volition, ideas, thoughts and character may be the inevitable outcome of circumstances, heredity and environment, or they may be inexorably predetermined or predestined in every way, so that man becomes little more than a cog in a great machine. If so, have goodness, reward and punishment any meaning? If there is no choice, must not the incentive for human aspiration and achievement disappear? On the other hand, man may feel himself to be, in a large measure, master over his own destiny, as is the potter over the soft clay in his hands; he knows that there are difficulties, but he also knows that he can overcome them; he realizes that there are obstacles in the path of duty and achievement, but he also realizes that he has a will which can be directed against any barrier and come to his rescue in any emergency. These are the two sides, the obverse and the reverse of one and the same problem of human experience—the problem of the freedom of the will.

Theology must reckon with this problem when it postulates the *providence* of God, His *omniscience* and *prescience,* which, according to logic, have prescribed limits for man's conduct before he came to the scene of his activity. Philosophy must cope with the problem in various ways: first, *ethically,* in that the

basis and sanction for morality, the meaning of duty and responsibility and the like, become mere verbiage rather than a dynamic power for action, if freedom of the will is not a reality; secondly, *metaphysically* and *cosmologically*, in that a will that is free cannot easily be harmonized with the conception that causality and movement lie at the root of all existence; and, thirdly, *psychologically*, in that freedom of the will, depends upon *an* interpretation of volition and voluntary acts in general, which may or may not be compatible with the results of the scientist's analysis of voluntary actions.

The problem of free-will in Judaism differs very little, if at all, from the problem of freedom in general. The problem is thoroughly non-sectarian. The object of this paper is to discuss the problem of the freedom of the will in Judaism, as it is found in talmudic literature. Although the writer of this paper realizes that he ought to preface his thesis with an account of the problem in biblical and Graeco-Jewish literature, he finds it necessary to confine his time to talmudic literature.

Doubtless, there are some here, who take exception to a treatment of a philosophical problem, as found in the Talmud. The rabbis, it is true, were not philosophers. They had no systems of thought, such as are associated with the names of Plato, Spinoza and Kant. This needs no proof even to those but slightly acquainted with rabbinic literature, yet this does not preclude the fact that they had philosophic notions. A *Weltanschauung* they had, and a *Weltanschauung* implies a philosophic outlook in at least some sense of the word. The rabbis of the talmudic period in Judaism do not agree on any particular world-view, though they have many elements in common. It would be as unnatural for them as it would be for all philosophers in the twentieth century to agree. The rabbis were individuals with individual experiences to color and influence their conceptions of life. The Talmud is a vast store-house which contains all of their views, and we look for agreement with as little success as we would in America today, when the realism of one school, the idealism of another, the positivism of a third and the pluralistic pragmatism of a fourth, all find advocates and opponents. Nor are we to expect that the rabbis of one century or of one school

had the same views any more than we should find this today, when a few years ago two good friends and colleagues on the faculty of America's foremost university held diametrically opposite views.

The rabbis of old, as also of today, possessed the distinctly human trait of differing with one another on important questions of theoretical import that have a direct bearing on human life. Whether or not their interest was primarily theological—which it no doubt was—or philosophical, makes very little difference to us, who are to look into and examine their words and produce, as clearly as possible, one phase of their *Weltanschauung*—a phase which is both philosophical and theological—the problem of the freedom of the will.

Owing to the fact that the rabbis were looked upon as theologians, no systematic attempt, to my knowledge, has so far been made to present the philosophic problems of the Agadah and Midrash with which the hundreds of rabbis from the third century B. C. to the fifth century A. D. busied themselves.[1] Though theology differs from philosophy, the former is impossible without some sort of philosophic basis, conscious or unconscious.

A chronological classification of the passages from talmudic literature, upon which the conclusions of this paper are based, revealing how the problem was felt, explained and grappled with, failed to show any historic growth in the conception of freedom and determinism; the pros and cons of one age closely resembled those of another.

As every shade of both freedom *and* determinism are reflected in rabbinic thought, it becomes our duty to point out which is the predominant thought, and to differentiate between the highway of talmudic thought and the byways, to see what represents the trunk of the tree of talmudic thought on freedom and what represents merely its branches. Otherwise a conclusion of any kind would be impossible.

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[1] This study was undertaken in response to a suggestion from Professor David Neumark.

I

COSMOLOGICAL PROBLEM

A. Natural Law

The rabbis were not scientists, yet they made allowance for the reign of natural law in the universe, and realized that cause and effect are reciprocally inevitable. Their explanation of the miracle, as divinely stipulated before creation, though theological, points to their appreciation of nature's immutable laws.[2] Possibly the most striking passage illustrating the rabbi's appreciation of natural law in talmudical literature is that which describes R. Eleazar b. Pedath, who "was in straightened circumstances. He once bled and had nothing to eat with the exception of garlic, which he put into his mouth. He became weak and fell asleep. When the rabbis came to visit him, they saw him cry and laugh in his sleep and a beam of light came forth from his forehead. When he awoke they asked him: 'Why did you cry and why did you laugh'? He answered: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, sat with me and I asked Him how long I shall have to suffer in this world? 'My son, Eleazar', he answered, 'is it right that I should overturn the world, that perhaps you might be born in a more favorable hour?' "[3]

B. Physical Aspect—The Sins of the Fathers

Heredity as a fact of natural law, was for the most part unknown to the rabbis of the Talmud. Heredity, therefore, as an obstacle, an over-towering obstacle to the freedom of the will was never urged by the authors of talmudic thought. The possibility of being dragged down by physical traits inherited from the fathers does not find adequate expression in the literature with which we are dealing. When they spoke of the "sins of the fathers", they meant something altogether different from

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[2] *Gen. Rabba*, Chap. 5 on *Gen.* I, 9. R. Jochanan, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

[3] *Taanith*, 25a.

that which the phrase conveys to us. It was interpreted theologically to mean "when *of their own volition* the children follow the evil ways of their fathers".[4] The rabbinical treatment of heredity, then, rather than limit and prescribe bounds for the freedom of the will, has just the opposite effect, for by ignoring, overlooking, or being unconscious of the real issue they give to freedom a comparatively unrestricted field of activity.

C. Psychological Aspect—Habit

Though psychology has been a science but fifty years, the principles of psychology were known to, and applied by, the rabbis of old. This becomes clear in their appreciation of habit as a factor of human conduct, and in the allowance they were prepared to make for it. The rabbis recognized, as do modern psychologists, that habit infringes upon and limits the freedom of the will. There is hardly an aspect of habit that has been treated by modern psychology, with the possible exception of the physiological aspect, that the rabbis of old did not comprehend and comment upon in their simple and naive way.

Growth of Habit

All habits, whether good or bad, grow; at first they seem and are insignificant and can be changed with but little effort, but after they are deeply rooted, this becomes almost impossible, thereby limiting man's freedom. "At first the evil inclination is like the thread of a spinning wheel (some say like a spider's web), finally, however, it becomes as strong as the cable of a ship."[5]

Habits are easily formed: this is especially true of bad habits. "At first the evil inclination appears as a wanderer, then as

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[4] *Ber.* 7a; *San.* 27b. R. Jochanan in the name of R. José, 2d Cent., Tana. Parallels and variations found in *Pesikta d. R. K.* R. Abahu, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Sifra*, 112b; also *Mechilta* to *Ex.* XX, 5-6.

[5] R. Akiba, 2d Cent. Tana, *Gen. R.* 22; R. Ashi, 3d Cent., Palestinian Amora, *Succ.* 52a; R. Abin, 5th Cent. Babylonian Amora (Sura), *Jer. Sabb.* 14c; *Lev. R.* 16.

guest and finally, as master of the house."[6] "If a man has committed a sin and repeats it, it then appears to him as if he had a license to do it."[7] R. Berechya interprets Ps. XXXII, 1 to mean: "Happy the man who is above his sins, whose sin is not above him (i. e., not stronger than he is), for it says 'sin croucheth at the door'. It is not written חטאת רובצת as we have a right to expect since חטאת is feminine, but חטאת רובץ which suggests that at first the evil inclination is as weak as a woman, but it grows and becomes as strong as a man."[8] It is therefore easy to understand the famous saying of Ben Azzai: "run to do even a slight precept and flee from transgression, for every virtue causes another virtue and every transgression another transgression."[9] Hence, "He who indulges his inclination in his youth will have his inclination (become so habituated so as to) rule over him in his old age, for (Pr. XX, 31), 'He that delicately bringeth up his servant from a child shall have him become his son at length.'"[10]

Formation and Cultivation of Habit

Professor James laid down the following principle in regard to the formation and cultivation of habits: "In the acquisition of a new habit, or the leaving off of an old one . . . never suffer an exception to occur till the new habit is securely rooted in your life."[11] The same thought was given various forms of expression by the rabbis. R. Schila, a Babylonian teacher in the early part of the third century, said: "If a man had an opportunity for one particular sin once or twice and did not sin, then he will never commit it," for (I Sam. II, 9), "God guards the feet

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[6] Raba, Babylonian Amora, 4th Cent., *Succ.*, 52b; R. Isaac, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent., *Gen. R.* 22.

[7] R. Huna, Babylonian Amora, 3d. Cent., *Yoma* 86b; R. Ula, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent., *Kidd.* 40a.

[8] R. Berechya, Palestinian Amora, *Gen. R.* 22 (in name of R. Simeon B. Ami, 3d Cent.).

[9] *Aboth* 4:2 (2d Cent., Tana).

[10] R. Abin, Babylonian Amora, 5th Cent., *Gen. R.* 22; R. Jonathan, *Succ.* 52b.

[11] James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, p. 123.

of his righteous ones."[12] "Continuity of training", maintained James,[13] "is the great means of making the nervous system act infallibly right". R. Simai, a Tana of the second century, expressed this same thought and gave a biblical sanction for it. In reference to Hosea XIV, 1: "Oh Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for thou has stumbled by thine iniquity", the rabbis remark that "it is to be compared to a huge rock that was placed on the cross ways, on which men used to stumble; whereupon the king said unto them: 'Clip it off little by little until the hour comes when I shall remove it altogether.'"[14] A comparison of the various versions of this idea make it clear that the "rock" here is the habit of wrongdoing and the "king" is God who asked man to diminish his wrongful acts, and man's freedom is invoked and is to become effective through reiterated action.

This continuity of training for any purpose, good or bad, is given an interesting turn in connection with the "hardening of Pharaoh's heart", in order to preserve man's freedom, though in the Bible it points to a plain case of determinism. R. Ismael expressed the same idea somewhat differently by saying: "Sin makes dull the heart of man, as Lev. XI, 43, says: 'Ye shall not make yourselves abominable . . . neither shall you make yourselves unclean with them.' . . . Do not read *wenitmethem* 'And ye will be made unclean', but *wenitamthem* 'and you will become dulled'." R. Pinchas expressed a similar idea more briefly by saying: "He who is confirmed in transgressions (i. e., he who is an inveterate sinner) cannot repent and there is no forgiveness for him."[15]

Results of Habit

Though the acquisition of habits and the cultivation of them are a matter of choice and tend to enlarge one's volition and to

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[12] *Yoma*, 38b, R. Schila, Babylonian Amora, 3d Cent., Jer. *Peah* 1a, in the name of R. Isaac.

[13] James, *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. I, p. 123.

[14] *Pesikta* (K) 165a; another version, *Num. R.* 15; *Tanchuma*, Buber Ed., p. 4. R. Simai, Tana, *Yalkut* to Hosea, Ch. XIV.

[15] *Ex. R.* 11 to Ex. *IX*, 12.

strengthen it, yet the results of habit tend to detract from man's freedom. In other words a certain amount of inertia of habit comes into play: if a man is accustomed to do what is right, he becomes less free to do what is wrong than one whose actions have been evenly balanced, and vice versa. "The wicked are in the power of their hearts, but the righteous have their hearts in their power."[16] The statement is written with the supposition that righteousness and self-mastery are inseparable. Another rabbi followed the principle we have stated above more closely and defines righteousness and wickedness in terms of habit,— "All men are divided into three classes: the righteous who are under the rule of the good impulse, the wicked, who are ruled by the evil impulse, and a middle class, ruled now by one and now by the other."[17] We may become in the language of Goethe "accomplices of our own destiny, the accessories of our own deeds before the fact", for "as long as the righteous do the will of God they acquire strength and power to perform further acts of righteousness."[18] This is a naive expression for the psychological process known as the "inertia of habit", and not, as it may appear on first thought, an appeal to a shallow rationalization of a theological idea. The mere doing of a thing helps to establish a habit; hence R. Chaninah and others urge that "a man should always busy himself with the Torah and the fulfillment of commandments, even if not the result of pure intention, because through the mere doing, even if it be not for the thing itself, at first, he will finally come to the point where he will do it out of pure intention.[19] מתוך שלא לשמה בא לשמה

The inertia of habit is so well recognized that it became a factor in the rabbinical theory of retribution, as well as a limitation upon man's will power and hence his freedom. The reward

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[16] *Yoma* 39a (Similar ideas in *Mechilta* 98a).

[17] *Yalkut*, on Gen. VIII, 25; *Gen. R.* 34.

[18] R. Jose, the Galilean, 2d Cent., Tana, *Aboth d. R. N.* 32; *Ber.* 61b; *Yalkut* to Ps. XXXVI.

[19] *Yalkut* to Lamentations. Also R. Chaninah, Tana, 1st Cent., *Pesikta* (K) 166a; Palestinian Amora, Ex. R. 12 to 9:13, 3d and 4th Cent. Also *Pesikta Rabbathi* III (Friedman Ed., 7b).

is greater when a person triumphs against the whole course of his past life for good and the punishment is severer when he turns his back upon the whole course of his past life for evil, for it is comparable to swimming against the current. So well recognized is the power of habit.

The inertia of habit brings victory or defeat depending upon its own past. For a good habit no evil is too great to conquer and for a bad habit no evil too small to bring it to defeat. There are many parallels to the following passage which is illustrative of the principle we have first stated. "In the future when the evil inclination will have been slain and the good will have become triumphant over barbarity, to the righteous the evil inclination will appear as if it were a high mountain, to the wicked as if it were a hair. Both will weep. The righteous will weep, saying: 'How were we able to conquer this high mountain'? The wicked will weep, saying: 'Why were we not able to conquer this hair'? And the Holy One also will be astonished with them, according to Zech. VIII, 6, 'Also in My eyes will it seem wonderful'."[20]

Habit then as a psychological factor does not prevent the freedom of the will, though it does somewhat infringe upon it. A habit formed and fixed for good makes a human being less free to do evil and a fixed habit for evil makes one less free to do good than if there were no habit and one's past were evenly balanced between intermittent good and evil actions. But all this is merely pointed out by way of admonition that one should control one's actions *before* they have become fixed habits and mould them while they are still "as thin as thread and not as thick as rope". But even if a habit has been formed it can be broken and a new one formed by reiterated action. Though habit impairs freedom, it does not limit a man's free-will, for he has the power to be master over his habits, and though "sin croucheth at the door", he can and he should conquer it.

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[20] *Succa* 52a, Tana, 2d Cent., *Gen. R.* 48:11; 89:1; *Ex. R.* 41:7; 46:4; *Num. R.* 17:6; *Deut. R.* 2:30; 6:14; *Pesik.* (*R*) 29a.

D. Reality of *Yezer Ṭob* and *Yezer Hara* as Preconditions of Morality

The good and the evil inclinations—the *yezer ṭob* and the *yezer hara*—may be looked upon as two faculties of the human being that make the freedom of the will possible. This discussion serves as a natural link between the philosophical and theological aspects of our subject and naturally divides itself into four parts: 1st, the existence of both the good and the evil inclinations as preconditions for morality; 2nd, the nature and function of the inclinations; 3rd, the question whether both the evil and good inclinations can be altered; 4th, the ways in which the inclinations can be mastered.

The existence of both good and evil impulses, or rather, impulses for good and evil, is a precondition for moral speculation. If one could not commit a wrong, a command to do right would be as superfluous as a command to obey the laws of gravity. "Man alone possesses both impulses,"[21] and "is duty bound to bless God for the evil as well as for the good *yezer,* for we read in Deut. VI, 5. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart etc., etc. The word לבבך is written with double ב hence it means with thy two inclinations the *yezer ṭob* and the *yezer hara!*'"[22] Man is a moral being because he must choose between alternatives; not so with the angel or the animal who, by virtue of having no evil inclination, deserves no credit for being good. "Angels have no evil inclination and are, therefore, spared from jealousy, covetousness, lust and other passions; but those who dwell below are under the temptation of the evil *yezer* and therefore require a double guard of holiness to resist it."[23]

Nature and Function of *Yezer*

The nature and function of the evil *yezer* can be gathered from the various names it has been called. Contrary to Shakespeare's idea, we find that there is much in a name. "The evil *yezer* has

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21 4th Cent., Palestinian Amora, *Gen. R.* 14; *Ber.* 61a.

22 Mish, *Ber.* 9:5; also *Sifra* to Deut. VI, 5, Tanaitic.

23 *Lev. R.* 26; *Gen. R.* 48; *Lev. R.* 24; *Sabb.* 89a.

seven names. The Holy One, blessed be He, called it 'evil' (Gen. VIII, 21); Moses called it 'uncircumcised' (Deut. X, 16); David called it 'unclean' (Ps. LI, 12); Solomon called it 'fiend' (or 'enemy') (Pr. XV, 31); Israel called it 'stumbling block' (Is. LVII, 14); Ezekiel called it 'stone' (Ezek. XXXVI, 26); Joel called it 'the hidden one in the heart of man' (Joel II, 20)."[24] In another passage it is pictured as the "spoiler" sparing none.[25] And it is also known as a "foolish old king who accompanies man from his earliest youth to his old age, to whom all the organs of man show obedience."[26] And R. Abin compares it to a "strange God." "What does (Ps. LXXXI, 10) 'Let there be no strange God within thee, and do not fall prostrate before a strange God' mean? What 'strange God' is in the body of man? It is none other than the evil *yezer.*"[27] It is also compared to a robber.[28] All of these names simply imply that the evil inclination is an inborn passion that is co-existent with life itself.

Has Man Power to Overcome the Evil *Yezer?*

The rabbis again and again reiterate that man can overcome his inclinations. Not only do their admonitions to overcome the evil, but also their warnings against the weakening of the good, testify to this. They frequently quote examples from history to substantiate their belief.[29] R. Chama bar R. Chanina admonishes man to be master over his *yezer:* "If man has to make a goad to direct, the animal (which he uses for the purpose of plowing, etc.), how much more should he be careful to use the goad for the purposes of directing his *yezer*, which can by seduction remove him from this world and the world to come?"[30]

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[24] *Succa* 52a. R. Joshua b. Levi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

[25] *Pesikta K* 80b.

[26] *Mid. T.* 9:5. Also *Ecc. R.* to *Ecc.* IV, 13-14.

[27] *Sabb.* 105b; *Jer. Nedarim* 41b.

[28] *Ab. b. R. Nathan*, 16.

[29] *Gen. R.* 22 to Gen. IV, 6; Palestinian Amora, end of 4th Cent. *San.* 43b; *Lev. R.* 9:1. *Lev. R.* 29; *Ecc. R.* 2:11; Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

[30] *Lev. R.* 29; *Ecc. R.* 2:11, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

Just as one's enemy may be turned into a friend so the evil *yezer* may be turned into a good one, claimed R. Simeon b. Eleazer. "The evil *yezer* is like iron; from iron one may make all sorts of vessels, if it be cast into the fire. Likewise one may make evil *yezer* useful by the words of the law. This is proved by Pr. XXV, 21: 'If thou soothe thine enemy—the *yezer*—with bread and water (the law) God will make him thy friend.'[31] In the struggle of the good *yezer* against the evil one, man is not to play the part of an idle spectator.[32] It is not only his duty to help the good *yezer* and save him from his opponent, but he should also make an effort to establish the kingdom of the good *yezer* over the evil one."

There are comparatively few passages which seem to indicate that the evil *yezer* is too strong and too deeply rooted to be overcome. Rabbi bar bar Chana, in commenting on Is. XXVIII, 26, "for his God doth instruct him to discretion and doth teach him", said: "The prophet said to the people of Israel: 'Return in penitence'. They said: 'We cannot, for the evil *yezer* rules over us'. He said: 'Chasten your inclinations'; they answered: 'His God (i. e., the *yezer's* God), teaches us this cannot be'."[33] R.R. Simeon b. Yochai also thought that man can hardly be held responsible for his actions because of the strength of the evil *yezer*.[34] Yet thoughts of this kind in which the *yezer* is portrayed as too powerful for mastery are few and far between and the predominant thought is that "God has made statutes not only for heaven and earth, the sun, moon, stars, etc., but also for the evil *yezer* prescribing its bounds."[35]

How to Overcome the Evil *Yezer*

First. The evil *yezer* may be overcome through prayer and the Grace of God, as the following typical passage illustrates: "Lord

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[31] *Pesikta* 80b; *Beshallach* 3; *Gen. R.* 56, Tana, 2d Cent. *Lev. R.* 34; *Mid. T.* (B) 412. Tana, 2d Cent., Acc. to *Mid. T. R. Abba. Ecc. R.* to 9:7. *B. B.* 17a; *Song of Songs R.* to 2:4; *Sota* 47a; *San.* 107b.

[32] *Pesikta d. R. K.* 158a; *Ber.* 5a.

[33] *San.* 105a; 3d Cent., Palestinian and Babylonian Amora.

[34] *Aboth d. R. Nathan*, Ch. 16, Schechter Ed. 31b-32a, Version I.

[35] Chama b. Chanina, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent., *Lev. R.* 35.

of all the worlds! It is revealed and known to Thee that it is our will to do Thy will. And what hinders? The leaven in the dough (i. e., the *yezer* in man) and servitude under the world kingdoms. May it be Thy will to humble these before us and to remove the evil *yezer* from us and humble it out of our heart that we may fulfill Thy will again with a perfect heart."[36] Throughout the entire talmudic period we find statements of this kind which differ but little in content.[37]

Secondly. The evil *yezer* may also be overcome by making a firm resolution under oath against it. R. Josia, a Tana of the second century, interprets Deut. VI, 6: "Let these words be for an oath against thy heart" to mean "against thy evil *yezer.*" Man is to expel his *yezer* by a vow (i. e., adjure it), as did Abraham (Gen. XIV, 22f), Boaz (Ruth III, 13), Elisha (II K. V, 16), while the wicked by a vow strengthen their evil *yezer* as did Gehazi (II K. V, 20).[38] The efficacy of the vow in conquering the *yezer* is well illustrated by the story told of Simon the Just, who once asked a Nazarite of stately appearance, beautiful eyes and curly hair, "My son, why didst thou choose to have thy beautiful hair destroyed?" He answered: "I acted as my father's shepherd in my town, and once I went to fill the casket from the well, when I saw the image reflected in the water, my *yezer* grew upon me and sought to turn me out from the world. Then I said to him: 'Thou wicked one! Why dost thou pride thyself with a world that is not thine? Thou whose

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[36] *Ber.* 16b, R. Alexander.

[37] The following passages from various historical periods show how difficult an historical presentation would be. Passages of similar content are found in the name of Jehuda-ha-nasi, Tana, 2d Cent., *Ber.* 16b; R. Isaac, Tana, 2d Cent., *Sifre* to Num. VI, 24; another Tanaitic statement, which has been adopted by the liturgy is found in *Ber.* 60b; R. Eleazer, *Ber.* 16a, has a similar statement, but of late date. *Ber.* 17a; another by Mar b. Rabina of the 5th Cent., *Ber.* 17a and many others.

[38] *Sifre,* Deut. VI, 6; *Gen. R.* 87; Similar passages are: *Lev. R.* 23 (end) *Ruth R.* 6 to 3:13, R. Jose b. Chalafta. *Num. R.* 15. R. Joshua b. Levi, Palestinian Amora and Tana, 3d Cent. and others.

destiny it is to become worms and maggots? I vow to be a Nazarite and I shall have thee shaved in the service of heaven.'"[39]

Thirdly. The Torah—by which the rabbis mean religious and moral training—serves as an antidote for the evil *yezer*. In numberless ways do the rabbis express this thought. R. Simeon b. Elazar said: "To what may the evil *yezer* be compared? To a piece of iron, which is placed in the midst of a fire. So long as it is there, various vessels can be formed of it. The same may be said of the evil *yezer*. There is no other preventive but the Torah, which is called a fire. The most striking passage expressing the idea that the Torah serves as an antidote for the evil inclination is that in which God is pictured as saying, "I have endowed you with passions, but also with an antidote (*tablin*) against them, namely, the Torah."

Fourthly. Closely associated with the idea of overcoming the evil *yezer* by the Torah is the idea of overcoming it by the school. The following quotation is typical of this line of thought: "My son, if this *menuwwal* (i. e., the evil *yezer*), meet thee, drag it into the *Beth ha-midrash* (i. e., the School); if it is stone it will be ground to pieces; if it is iron it will be broken into shreds, as it says in Jer. XXIII, 29, 'Is not My word like fire, saith the Lord, and like the hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?' If it is stone, it will be ground to pieces, as it says in

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[39] 3d Cent., B. C., *Ned.* 96; *Sifra*, 22; *Jer. Ned.* 36b; *Sifre*, 96; *Num. R.* 10:7; *Yoma*, 35b. See also *Ab. d. R. N.* 16, Schechter Ed., Version 1, 32b. *Kidd.* 30b; *B. B.* 16a. Tanaitic. Similar statements concerning the Torah and the evil *yezer* are to be found; *Sifre*, Deut. XLV; *Gen. R.* 70 in the name of R. Chama b. Chaniah, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Gen. R.* 89, *Succ.* 52b in the name of R. Simeon b. Abba; *Ab. d. R. Nathan*, 15b, Ch. 3, Version 1. (Schechter Ed.) Also *Mid.* Pr. XXIV, in the name of R. Akiba, Tana, 2d Cent.; *Num. R.* 17 (end), R. Simeon b. Yochai Tana, 2d Cent.; *Ex. R.* 41 to XXXI, 2; *Gen. R.* 54. R. Joshua b. Levi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Sota* 21a; *Ber.* 31a; *Pes.* 8a; *B. B.* 16a; Raba, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Ab. d. R. Nathan*, 35b, Version 1. (Sch. Ed.) Ch. 20 R. Chanina, *Segan hakohanim*, 1st Cent.; R. Nehunya b. Hakanah 1st and 2d Cent. Tana, *Aboth* 3:6. *Mechilta* on Ex. XVIII, 27; *Lev. R.* 35; *Cant. R.* 6:11, *Num. R.* 14. R. Joshua of Sichnin, *Gen. R.* 17 *on Gen.* II, 19.

Is. LV, 1. 'Ho, everyone that is thirsty go to the water', and further on it says, 'water grinds stone'. (Is. XIV, 19.)"[40]

Fifthly. Man has a good *yezer* as well as an evil one, and the good one can become master. A Palestinian Amora of the third century asks, "What does Ecc. IX, 14 mean? 'There was a little city, and a few men within it; and there came a great king against it and besieged it and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city, yet no man remembered that same poor man.' 'A little city,' refers to the body; 'And few men within it,' refers to the members (limbs) of the body; 'And there came a great king against it and besieged it,' refers to the evil *yezer*'; 'and built great bulwarks against it', refers to sin; 'now there was found in it a poor wise man', refers to the good *yezer;* 'and he by his wisdom delivered the city,' refers to repentance and good deeds; 'yet no man remembered the same poor man' for in the hour in which the evil *yezer* rules, he does not remember the good *yezer.*"[41]

Sixthly. Man can overcome the evil inclination by reflecting upon his ultimate destiny and the ephemeral nature of life. But, should all other methods of overcoming the evil inclination, including the mobilization of the good impulses fail, man should repeat the *Sh*^{e}*ma;* if he succeeds, well and good; if not, he should think of death.[42]

Of course we must not expect to find unanimity of opinion among the rabbis, for differences may be found among them. However, most of them agree that God is responsible for the evil *yezer* as well as for the good *yezer,* which precludes a dualistic interpretation of the universe, and out of this two-fold possibility arises the problem of freedom. It is this unpredictable

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[40] School of R. Ismael, 2d Cent., Tanaitic, *Kidd.* 30b; *Succ.* 52b; *Mid.* I (B) to Ps. CXIX, 113.

[41] R. Ami bar Abba. *Ned.* 32b; *Ecc. R.* to IX, 14-15. See also *Sch. Tob* to Ps. LXXXVI, 11 (Bacher A. III 290), Chanina b. Abahu, Palestinian Amora, 4th Cent. Other statements showing that good *yezer* may be victorious, *Ecc. R.* to IV, 14; *Ecc. R.* to IV, 15. *Ber.* 5a; *Pesikta d. R. K.* 158a.

[42] *Ber.* 5a.

future, which gives freedom to the will. Man becomes responsible for the choice, for whatever the evil *yeẓer* may be in its origin and however specific be its function, one thing remains a fact: man can, if he *wills,* overcome it. Prayer, the study of the Torah, divine grace, the vow, the school, the good *yeẓer* and especially faith in a future world in which the evil *yeẓer* will be eradicated,[43] all serve as antidotes and help to turn the evil into good. The subject of the *yeẓer hara* and the *yeẓer ṭob,* as understood by the majority of the rabbis brings out clearly three facts: 1st, evil is a reality; 2d, good is a reality; 3d, man has power to choose.

II

THEOLOGICAL PROBLEM

A. Omnipotence, Omniscience and Prescience

The foregoing discussion of the two inclinations in man leads naturally to the theological aspect of our problem. God, according to the teachings of the rabbis is omnipotent, omniscient and prescient. From a strictly rational or philosophical point of view, God's foreknowledge ידיעה on the one hand, and man's freedom of the will בחירה on the other, are utterly incompatible.

One not acquainted with rabbinical literature would here expect to find the rabbis struggling to decide as to which alternative to embrace. The decision is comparable to the actions of a loving child upon being asked, "whom do you love the better, father or mother?" And the answer is "both". Similarly the rabbis loved to think of God as an omniscient and prescient Being, yet they also loved to exalt man as a moral being, and morality is impossible without freedom of the will. And, like the proverbial child, they too answered, "both". Akiba's statement is typical of all rabbinic speculation on the subject. "Everything is foreseen by God, yet freedom of the will has been

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[43] *Tanchuma* to Gen. I, 40.

given."[44] Consistency was never the criterion of great minds and the rabbis did not prove an exception to this rule. They simply refused to be forced to choose between inevitable alternatives and by dogmatism asserted the reality of both.

In many passages the rabbis attempt to do just what later the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages attempted to do, and they were equally as unsuccessful, when they claimed that God's foreknowledge is not causative. In this way they attempted to save both man's freedom and God's omniscience.[45]

Omniscience and prescience make for a kind of historical determinism, but the rabbis never looked upon this as infringing upon man's freedom,[46] but, on the contrary, use it as a pretext to emphasize free-will all the more strongly and to harmonize all the contradictions and inconsistencies in their own theory by dogmatic methods.

B. Determinism

Though the rabbis were primarily theologians, not philosophers, and although theology may dogmatize and philosophy may not, the strongest evidence in talmudic literature against man's freedom of the will, strange and paradoxical as it will therefore seem, comes from the theological rather than the philosophical aspect of the problem. This was evident not only in the foregoing words concerning omniscience, but is also evident in rabbinic thought about determinism, original sin and the merit of the fathers, all of which, with the exception of the last, are found not on the highway of Jewish thought in the Talmud, but in one of the remote byways.

Determinism should not be confused with the idea of fate, for the latter presents a blind force to which both God and men are subject, while the former postulates a colossal plan conceived in

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[44] Tana, 2d Cent., *Aboth* 3:15; *Niddah* 16.

[45] *Gen. R.* 8 to Gen. I, 26. Palestinian Amora, 3d and 4th Cent. Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent., *San.* 105a; *Ab. Z.* 5a.

[46] *Ex. R.* 40 to Ex. XXXI, 1-2. Resh Lakish, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent. Similar references are *Tan.* on Ex. III, 1; *Gen. R.* 9 on Gen. I:31 (in name of R. Chaggi, R. Isaac and R. Judan), etc.

the infinite mind of God. Man cannot alter this divine plan to which he must submit willingly or unwillingly. This helplessness on the part of man is clearly brought out in the comment that the rabbis make on the verse: "Oh Lord, why hast Thou made us to err from Thy ways and hardened our heart from Thy fear"? (Is. LXIII, 17.) The rabbis here plead in favor of the brothers of Joseph in the words: "When Thou, O God, didst choose, Thou didst make them love; when Thou didst choose, Thou didst make them hate".[47] "No one can touch anything that is destined for another; no kingdom can extend a hair's breadth against another".[48]

The following saying of R. Isaac further illustrates rabbinic thought on determinism: "God said to Abimelech: 'For I also withheld thee from sinning against Me, therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.' It is to be compared to a strong man riding on a horse. But there was a child lying on the road which was thus in danger of being run over. But the man drove the horse so that it avoided the child. The praise in this case is certainly due to the rider, not to the horse. In a similar way, Abimelech claimed a special merit for not having sinned. But God said to him: 'The *yezer* who causes you to sin is in My power, and it was I who drew thee away from sin, hence the praise is Mine, not thine.'"[49] As the rider of the analogy represents God and the horse, man, this is a clear case of determinism. Similarly in all passages, where man charges God with having been responsible for his crimes, we have evidence of determinism in talmudical literature. "It is a thing hard to say and impossible for the mouth to utter it," said R. Simeon b. Yochai in regard to Cain's murder of Abel, for "it is to be compared to two athletes, who were wrestling in the presence of the king. If the king wills, he can have them separated; but the king does not will so; in the end one overwhelmed the other and killed him, and the dying man shouted: 'Who can now demand justice for me, since the king himself was present and could have prevented

[47] *Gen. R.* 18.

[48] *Yoma* 38a. Tana, 2d Cent.

[49] *Gen. R.* 20; *Pesikta d. R. K.* 176b, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

it.'"[50] In like manner God and not Israel is responsible for the Golden Calf sin.[51] Great and small alike happen according to the will of God, in fact, "no man even injures his finger here below unless predetermined from above".[52] And "even if a plague rage for seven years, no one will die before his appointed hour."[53] Referring to *Rosh Hashanah,* Rab says in prayer: "On this day it is decreed over all lands: who are to fall by the sword and who shall enjoy peace; who shall become prey to famine and who shall enjoy plenty; and on the same day the people are considered for enrollment for life or for death."[54] Certain times and places are predetermined for good or for evil, and man partakes of either of them without having known beforehand what the time and place would have in store for him. This is given a concrete setting in the case of Jeroboam and Rehoboam by R. Jose.[55] Another typical expression of determinism is that of Abba b. Kahana: "Even the serpent does not bite, the lion does not tear to pieces, and the government does not declare war, unless whispered from above."[56]

This leads most naturally to the subject of historical determinism, which is frequently found in rabbinic literature. In looking back over the course of history, the rabbis often felt that history followed a predetermined plan. This was true of indidivuals as well as of nations.[57] The splendid story, telling how love matches are made in heaven, which is found in various versions in talmudic literature, also points to determinism, though

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[50] *Gen. R.* 22 to Gen. IV, 9. An extremely interesting variation of this is found in *Tan.* on Gen. IV, 9.

[51] *Yoma* 86b, R. Jannai, Palestinian Amora, 2d and 3d Cent.; *San.* 102a; R. Chama b. Chaninah, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

[52] *Chulin* 7b; *Ab. Z.* 54. R. Chanina, Tana, 1st Cent.

[53] *San.* 29a; *Yeb.* 114b. R Asi, Half-Tana, 2d and 3d Cent.

[54] *Lev. R.* 29 to Lev. XXIII, 24. Also *Tan.* Ex. XXXVIII, 21.

[55] See passage *San.* 102a.

[56] *Ecc. R.* 10:11; Abba b. Kahana, Palestinian Amora, 4th Cent.

[57] *Semachoth,* Ch. 8 (end) contains a most excellent illustration of this, but it is too long to quote here. See also *Gen. R.* 58 to Gen. XXIII, 1; R. Abba b. Kahanā, Palestinian Amora, 4th Cent. *Lev. R.* 29 (Tanaitic); also *Mid. R.* on Ex. XXXI; *San.* 97b, 98a.

naturally tales of this kind are not subject to philosophical criteria.[58]

Determinism is found in a mere byway of rabbinic thought, not on the highway, for there is, in general, a decided stand against determinism, as has already become evident again and again throughout the course of this paper. Yet we cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting a very striking, clear cut and typical refutation, found in the *Jerushalmi:* "The women who say: 'Our children need not go to school, for they to whom God has predetermined knowledge will have it anyway', make a mistake, for it says in Is. XXVIII: 'According to justice shall he be taught, his God will inform him.'"[59]

C. Original Sin

The picture of the potter working with soft clay serves as an excellent analogy to an ideal state of the freedom of will, if the potter represent man's will and the soft clay the self to be moulded. If, however, the clay is in the shape of a vase and has become comparatively hard, and it was the potter's intention to fashion it into a jug, there arises a difficulty which cannot be altogether overcome. The latter analogy may also be applied to man. If he is neutral by birth, that is, neither good nor wicked, he may fashion his conduct without much difficulty, but if he brings with him into the world an "inherited or inborn sinfulness, or a state of disharmony or corruption produced once and for all in human nature by the first transgression (of Adam) and transmitted by inheritance to all the human race," then he finds himself in the position of the potter attempting to fashion or rather refashion clay which has lost some of its plasticity. This is the state of affairs which we must now consider, for there is in talmudical literature, contrary to much that has been said on the subject, a trend of thought which may well be called "original sin". Were it not for the fact that this idea is also found in Graeco-Jewish literature, we would be tempted to

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[58] *Lev. R.* 8; *Num. R.* 3; *M. K.* 18a.

[59] *Jer. Challah* 1a.

say that it is due altogether to the idea of original sin and total depravity in early Christianity, for unlike many of the other ideas with which we are dealing, this idea is seldom found before the second century A. D. and found most frequently in the third, when the influence of rising Christianity came to be felt. There is no doubt in my mind that there is Christian influence in the rabbinic conception of the original sin. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that all sayings on this subject are found in the name of Palestinian Amoräim, who came into contact and held disputations with the early Christians, while the Babylonian Amoräim, of whom we have few or no original sin passages, with but few exceptions, did not come into contact with the early Christians.

The sin of Adam—an act of free-will—brought death not only to him, but unto the world. This is the substance of the doctrine of original sin, as it is found in talmudical literature. A most characteristic statement is that of R. Levi: "Moses said: 'Master of the world! There are thirty-six sins which are punishable by excision (*Kareth*), of which if a man transgress one of them, he is guilty of death; have I perhaps transgressed one of them? Why then do you bring death upon me?' God answered: 'Because of the sin of the first man you are to die, because of him who brought death into the world.'"[60]

In addition to the original sin due to Adam, there is another due to the Golden Calf. In the Midrash the revelation at Sinai is regarded as having heralded a new era of innocence,[61] in that religious truth is an antidote to man's predilection for sin. The sin of the Golden Calf, in this light, becomes very significant in

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[60] Bacher shares this view to some extent. *Agada der Amoräer*, Vol. II, p. 140. Other typical original sin references are: *Yalkut*, I, 479. Similar statements by various rabbis found *Ex. R.* 30 to Ex. XXI, 1. R. Abahu, Palestinian Amora; R. Akiba, 2d Cent.; *Gen. R.* 19 on Gen. III:7; *Ex. R.* 38 to Ex. XXIX:1; *Sifra* 27a. R. Jose, 4th Cent., Palestinian Amora; *Tan.* Gen. 1 (40); *Gen. R.* 16 to Gen. II:16. R. Jacob of Chanin, Palestinian Amora, 3d and 4th Cent. *Gen. R.* 10 on Gen. II:1. R. Hosaya, 3d Cent. *B. B.* 17a; *Sabb.* 55b. *B. R.* 9.

[61] *Gen. R.* 21 (end) to Gen. IV:24; *Sabb.* 146a; *Yebamoth* 103b; *Ab. Z.* 22b.

that it is the first blot on the second age of innocence and becomes a renewed cause for death. There are many parallels to the statement: "There is not a misfortune that Israel has suffered which does not contain a small ingredient of retribution for the sin of the Golden Calf.[62] There are, on the other hand, a larger number of statements to the effect that man does not come into the world with an original sin, that is, as a moral bankrupt.[63]

The result of our investigation of the idea of original sin in talmudical literature has shown it to be present in a small degree, "but like an unfinished railway track, it was brought to an abrupt and untimely end in a siding on the very brink of a precipice, which would have led to loss of self-control and moral disaster." Needless to add, it was excluded from the broad channels of Jewish thought.

D. Merit of the Fathers

The optimism of the rabbinic spirit becomes manifest in a study of the "merit of the fathers". While original sin in Judaism is confined to the sin of Adam, the generation of the Golden Calf and a few other isolated persons, it is more than counterbalanced by the "merit of the fathers", which could equally as well have been called, "original virtue", and which has its source not only in the virtues of the past, but also in the virtues of the present, and furthermore, draws upon those of the future. A virtuous ancestor, a virtuous contemporary, or even a virtuous descendent may become the source of present blessing. Imputed virtue, as also does its opposite, imputed sin, theoretically limits man's freedom to a certain extent, but one cannot read much of rabbinic literature dealing with this phase of our problem without realizing that the rabbis felt that original sin and original virtue do not disturb or infringe upon man's freedom. The term זכות אבות is rarely, if ever, used in the sense to benefit the children in determining their moral conduct; it is applied

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[62] R. Isaac, *San.* 102a; *Ex. R.* 32; *Ecc. R.* to IX:11.

[63] *Gen. R.* 8 to Gen. I:26.

merely to the material fortunes of the children, who might thus be benefited.

The merit that falls to the lot of a human being because of a virtuous ancestor is by far the most popular. Especially is this so of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. "Because of the merit of Abraham, God created the world.—Because of the merit of Isaac, since he willingly offered himself on the Altar, God in the future will resurrect the dead."[64]

There is also such a thing as the "merit of the mothers"; this includes Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah.[65] If both the merit of the fathers and that of the mothers is on the decline, people are admonished to hope for the Grace of God.[66]

The fact that a virtuous descendant will arise from a person is sufficient to plead in his favor. The Holy One, blessed be He, dealt kindly with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the patriarchs or fathers because of the merit of their descendants. In like manner Noah was saved, because of his children's merit.[67] The interdependence of the past upon the future and of the future upon the past is strikingly brought out in many passages.[68]

The merit of the fathers and its opposite original sin both infringe upon the freedom in like manner and in like degree. But the rabbis were not conscious of any obstacle that these ideas placed in the way of freedom, and especially of responsibility, and in so far as they were, they got out of the dilemma by dogmatising "all is foreordained, yet freedom is given."

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[64] *Pesikta K.* 100b; *Ex. R.* 6 to Ex. VI:4; *Lev. R.* 29; *Ex. R.* 28 to Ex. XIX:3.

[65] *Sifra* 112 C.

[66] *Lev. R.* 36; Jer. *San.* 27b. For other "unearned merit" passages, see *Ex. R.* 15 to Ex. XII:2; R. Levi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent. Passages of this kind may be multiplied with ease. *Kidd.* 40b and *Ecc. R.* to Ecc. X:1. The following are a few of the more important passages of this kind: *Gen. R.* 49; *Chulin* 92a; *Sifra* 88a; *Yoma* 38b; *Lev. R.* 4; *Shebuoth* 39a and b; *Sifra* 91c; *Sabb.* 55a; *Jer. Sota* 21b; *Ex. R.* 27.

[67] *Gen. R.* 29.

[68] *San.* 104a is typical.

III

ETHICAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM

A. Perfectibility of Man

Freedom, after all, is primarily an ethical concept, though it cannot well stand without a cosmological foundation. Inasmuch as ethics is a guide for human conduct, it cannot be of value unless the human being has power both to choose between good and evil and to make his choice effective. The ethical aspect of the problem of freedom limits itself, then, solely to the problem of conduct, or moral freedom, which involves the idea of man's perfectibility, and responsibility for his actions. It does not involve a choice over the conditions of birth, death, and the like; and hence represents but one limited phase of the whole problem. This is brought out in one of the most frequently used and often misused and abused passages of talmudical literature. "The angel that presides over pregnancy addresses God: 'Lord of the universe! What shall come forth? A strong or a weak one, a wise one or an ignoramus, a rich man or a pauper'? But whether he is to be righteous or wicked that is not decided, as R. Chanina said: *Hakkol biyde shamayim ḥuz meyir'ath shamayim*, 'Everything is in the power of heaven (i. e., to be determined beforehand in heaven), with the exception of the fear of heaven' (this means conduct as is seen from the scriptural authority chosen to substantiate it), for it says (Deut. X, 12): 'And now, Oh Israel, what does the Lord thy God ask of thee, but that thou shouldst fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, to love Him,[69] and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul.'" A similar statement, which is too long to quote, brings out all the more strikingly the fact that "fear of heaven" means conduct, by using as its scriptural sanction (Deut. XXX, 15):[70] "See I have set before thee this day life and good, death and evil", etc.

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[69] *Nidd.* 16b; *Ber.* 33a; *Meg.* 25a; R. Chanina b. Chama, Tana, 2d Cent.

[70] *Tan. Pikkude* and partly in *Yalkut Gen.* 38; in name of R. Jochanan, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

Man is a perfectible being. This represents the essence of rabbinical teaching on the subject of man's freedom from an ethical point of view. In the *Sifre* there is a passage in which the rabbis ask whether a wicked person may be considered a son of God, and the answer is that in so far as he has within him the power to become righteous, he is a son of God. For "in the way in which a man chooses (wills) to walk, his feet guide him. This is to be derived from the Bible.[71] In the hour in which Moses wrote down the Torah, he recorded the work of every day's creation; when he came upon the verse, 'God spoke, let us make man', he said: 'Master of the Universe, what an opportunity dost Thou here give to the heretics?' (to say that there are many gods), God answered him, 'whoso wishes to err, may do so.'"[72] There are many parallels to the statement that if a man desires to lead a morally clean life the heavenly powers will assist; if, however, one wants to lead an impure life, they do not prevent him from so doing.

In numberless ways do the rabbis impress upon man that he is master of himself. "Which is the right course that a man should *choose* for himself? That which he feels to be honorable for himself, and which brings him honor from mankind."[73] Wherever there are alternatives, there is choice. In commenting on Ps. XXXVI, 3, the rabbis say, "What is the meaning of 'he setteth himself in a way that is not good'? There are before them two ways, one for good and one for evil, and they forsake the way of good and they walk in the evil way".

Man should not attempt to find a mitigating cause or an extenuating influence for his actions; he alone is responsible for them. "Man," say the rabbis, "was created alone (i. e., there is but one ancestor for the whole human race), according to the biblical account, in order that the righteous should not say 'we

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[71] R. Huna or Eleazar, *Macc.* 10b; *Num. R.* 20; R. Jochanan, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent; *Succ.* 53a; also *Kilayim* 32; *Yalkut* to Is. XLVIII; *Yalkut* to Num. XXII. In *Kethuboth* 30 a b., the same idea is turned from freedom into determinism.

[72] Samuel bar Nachman in name of R. Jonathan, probably an Amora, pupil of Rab; *Gen. R.* 8 on Gen. I:26.

[73] Rabbi Jehuda-ha-Nasi. 2d Cent.; *Aboth* 2:1.

are descended from a righteous person' and the wicked should not say 'we are descended from a wicked person.' "[74] The purpose of this passage, though purely theological, is to assert that neither heredity nor environment can hinder or in any way infringe upon man's freedom, which depends solely upon himself.[75] The reader must constantly bear in mind that this is an academic presentation of what the rabbis taught—not a justification of or an acquiescence in their views.

Man can perfect himself through meditation. "One who bears in mind the following four things and never loses sight of them will never sin, namely, whence he came and whither he is going, who is his judge and what will become of him."[76] Furthermore, "a man should always consider himself as half guilty and half innocent; if he fulfills a command, he is blessed, for he acquires for himself a weight in the scale-pan of innocence; but if, on the other hand, he commits a sin, woe unto him, for he acquires for himself a weight in the scale-pan of guilt as it is written, Ecc. IX. 18: 'One single fault can destroy much good'. What holds true of the microcosm also holds true of the macrocosm, according to R. Eleazar bar R. Simeon, who said: 'Because the world is judged according to the predominance of one or the other kind of deeds, the world too should be considered as equally balanced; if man fulfills one command, happy is he, for he gives himself and the whole world a weight for the scale-pan of virtue; if he commits one sin, he gives himself and the world a weight for guilt."[77]

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[74] Tanaitic, *San.* 38a.

[75] Passages with varied aspects of this thought found in: *Kidd.* 40b; *Yalkut* to Is. XLVIII, p. 798; *Yalkut* to *Haazinu* 672; *Erubin*, 13b; *Mechilta* 46b to Ex. XV:26; *Gen. R.* 14 on II:7; 8 on I:27; *Mishna Eduyoth* 5:7. Freedom over environment also exemplified by *Gen. R.* 22 to IV:6; R. Ami, Palestinian Amora, 3d and 4th Cent.; *Aboth* 3:17, Akiba; *Aboth* 3:5; Chanian b. Chachinai, Tana, 2d Cent.; *Ber.* 29b; *Kidd.* 40a; *Aboth* 1:5; etc.

[76] Ben Azzai, Tana 2d Cent., *Derech Erez R.*, Ch. 3. Similar statements Akabia b. Mahallallel; 1st Cent. Tana; *Ab. d. R. N.* 35a; *Ber.* 5a; *Aboth* 2:1; 3:1.

[77] *Kidd.* 40b., 2d Cent.; also *Ecc. R.* to Ecc. X:1.

Even environment and association are not obstacles to man's power of choice, because, according to the rabbis, man is *free* to choose both his physical environment and mental attitude, which influence his actions, and he may choose such as will influence him in the way he wills. "Keep far from a bad neighbor, associate not with the wicked, and do not abandon the belief in retribution."[78]

If "experience is the best teacher", then history is the best text-book. The best proof that man is master of himself can be gleaned from a study of the biographies of the men who made history. The experience of a few biblical and rabbinical characters may well serve as illustrations. Adam's sin was an act of free-will. The following passage is typical: "to whom may the first man be compared? To a sick person, whom the doctor visits and says: 'This you may eat and that you may not eat'. When he acted contrary to his words, he approached death; his relatives visited him and said to him: 'Do you perhaps think that the doctor has made a mistake?' 'God forbid!' answered the sick one, 'I am responsible myself, for he cautioned me, saying: 'This you may eat and this you may not eat.' Since I have acted contrary to his words, I have subscribed myself for death.' "[79]

Similar statements in talmudic literature emphasizing the free-will of historic characters are found of Cain,[80] Joseph,[81] Esau and Obadiah,[82] and Boaz,[83] also of R. Chaninah and R. Jonathan.[84]

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[78] *Aboth* 1:7; Nittai the Arbelite, 2d Cent.; *Aboth* 3:14 R. Dosa b. Horkinas, 80-120, A. D.

[79] *Pesikta d. R. K.* 118a; R. Isaac, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent. Similar statements: R. Akiba, 2d Cent., Tana; *Gen. R.* 21 to Gen. III, 22; R. Simon, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Gen. R.* 16; R. Ammi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Sabb.* 55a-b.

[80] *Gen. R.* 22 to IV:6.

[81] *Num. R.* 14; *Deut. R.* 2:33.

[82] R. Eleazer, 80-120 A. D.; *Yoma* 38b.

[83] *Lev. R.* 23 (end); *Ruth R.* 6 to Ruth III:13. R. Jose b. Chalafta; *Num. R.* 15, R. Joshua b. Levi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent. and others.

[84] *Ab. Z.* 17 a-b.

According to the rabbis, reason, experience and history alike affirm that man is a perfectible being.

B. Freedom Taken for Granted and Implied

A man does not constantly say to himself, "I'm awake, I'm awake", but he simply takes this for granted. Only when he is half asleep and dreaming an unpleasant dream does he wonder whether he is awake. In a like manner, one who believes himself to be a free agent need not necessarily go about the streets shouting: "I'm free!" He simply takes it for granted and acts as if he were free. Testimony of this kind, more eloquent by its silence than by its speech, may be gathered almost without limit from talmudical literature giving support to the idea that the rabbis of old were for the most part firm believers in the idea that man's will is free. "The Holy One, blessed be He, said, 'See what this wicked people do. When I created them, I gave to each of them two servants, the one good and the other evil. But they forsook the good servant and associated with the evil one."[85] The famous saying of Ben Zoma implies freedom in an almost absolute sense of the word: "Who is strong? He who rules over his passions."[86] There are many parallels to the passage that "man is judged at any moment according to his moral standing at that moment."[87] The implication here is that man can and should, since he has freedom to do so, keep the majority of his actions on the side of merit, since "man is judged by the majority of his deeds."

There is practically no limit to the number of "implied" and "taken-for-granted" free-will passages in the talmudical literature; *this testimony of silence is beyond question the strongest evidence of the freedom of the will in talmudic literature.*

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[85] *Tan.* (Buber Ed.) 1:13a.

[86] Ben Zoma, *Aboth* 4:1.

[87] R. Simon, Tana, *Gen. R.* 57 to Gen. XXI, 17.

C. Commands and Admonitions Imply Freedom

As has already been stated, a command to obey the law of gravity would be superfluous, for man has no freedom in the matter; he simply must obey it. As a result, we have no such law in any text-book on Ethics. Commands and admonitions are given only when there are various courses of action possible and where man is empowered to choose. The fact that the Bible says repeatedly *thou shalt* and *thou shalt not*, implies that man has power to embrace or to reject them. And the fact that the rabbis of the talmudic period of Judaism multiplied these commands and admonitions of the Bible ten-fold, pleads eloquently for their belief in man's freedom; not only does the giving of commands imply freedom, but also the acceptance of them.[88]

The most striking command of the Bible directly involving freedom of the will is used over and over by the rabbis: "I set before you life and death, blessing and curse" (Deut. XXX, 19). In commenting on this the rabbis say: "Considering that the Holy One, blessed be He, placed before us two ways, the way of life and the way of death, we can go in any of these we choose." Therefore it is further said, "Choose life that both thou and thy seed may live."[89] Another typical expression implying man's freedom is that of R. Judah's, in reference to Deut. XIV, 1: "Ye are children of the Lord your God", he said: "If you conduct yourselves as children, then you are children of God, if not, ye are not".[90] The distinction between the sins done presumptuously—*meẓiyd*—and those done in ignorance—*sh*^{e}*gagah*—also implies freedom.[91]

Admonition of all kinds takes the freedom of the will for granted. "Do not search for evil, and evil will not remain with you, for it is written in Psalms: 'Evil shall have no place

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[88] *Pesikta R. Ch.* 21; pupils of Rabbi, 2d Cent.

[89] *Deut. Sifre* 86a; *Tan. Deut. R.* 4, Tanaitic.

[90] R. Joshua, *Ex. R.* 30 to XXII, 1; Tana, 2d Cent.; *Sifre Deut.* 96.

[91] There are hundreds of passages of this kind of which the following are typical. *B. B.* 9a; *Aboth* 4:4; *Deut. R.* 5; *Sifre* 32b; *Sifra* 15b.

among you.' "[92] In commenting on Pr. XXIV, 6: "For by wise counsel thou shalt make thy war," Rabbi Simon says: "If you have committed a heap of transgressions, then counterbalance it with a heap of commandments fulfilled."[93] The Jew is admonished to undergo martyrdom rather than commit any of the cardinal sins. "It was voted upon and agreed to in the house of Nithsa in Lydda that one is not guilty of any of the transgressions, which the Torah names, if it is done in response to the threat: 'Commit a transgression or you will be killed', and one may under these circumstances commit them all with the exception of idolatry, adultery, and murder."[94] Some rabbis present the idea of implied freedom by means of a forced alternative. "My Torah", says God, "is in your hand, and your soul is in My hand: if you preserve what is Mine, I shall preserve what is thine: if you lose what is Mine, I shall lose what is thine."[95] Another variation of this idea is found in the same passage: "The sword and the book (the Bible) came down from heaven bound together. God spoke to the people: 'If you do not do according to what is written in the book, then you will be slaughtered by the sword.' "[96] In commenting on, "but if you refuse and do not hearken", R. Levi said: "This relation is the same as that of a servant to whom his master said: 'Here is a golden band for your neck if you do my will, if not, here are iron fetters.' So God spoke to the Israelites: 'If you do my will, see, here are the good and the blessing, if not, here is the curse. Behold, there are two ways before you. See, I set before you today blessing and curse.' "[97]

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92 R. Jochanan, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

93 *Lev. R.* 21.

94 *San.* 74a.

95 *Deut. R.* 4; R. Simeon; Tanaitic.

96 *Deut. R.* 4, R. Eleazar.

97 *Ibid.* R. Levi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent. Similar statements to those above in name of Resh Lakish, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Sabb.* 88a; R. Simlai, 3d Cent.; *Nidd.* 30b; *Lev. R.* 14; *Sifre* 132a; *Gen. R.* 14; 27; *Chag.* 16a; *Ab. d. R. N.* 55a.

D. *Imitatio Dei* Implies Freedom

Closely associated with or perhaps a species of command and admonition, which imply man's freedom of choice is what is technically known in theological and ethical literature as *imitatio Dei.* God is the ideal and man made in his image should strive to become perfect. The most familiar biblical expressions of this idea is "Thou shalt be holy, for I the Lord am holy". In commenting on these words, one of the rabbis of old said: "The people of Israel are the bodyguards of the king (God) and hence they are duty bound to imitate the king."[98] According to another rabbi: "God spoke to Israel, even before I created the world you were sanctified unto Me, therefore, be ye holy as I am holy . . . the matter is to be compared to a king who married a woman and said unto her: 'Since thou art my wife, what is my honor is thy honor; therefore, be thou holy even as I am holy.' "[99] One of the most striking passages of *imitatio Dei* is that which departs from mere theory and makes it applicable to daily life. R. Chana b. Chaninah in commenting on the verse "walk in the ways of God", says that it means "walk according to the attributes—*middoth*—of God; as He clothes the naked (Gen. III, 21), so do thou clothe the naked; as He cares for the sick (Gen. XVIII, 1), so do thou care for the sick; as He comforts the mourners (Gen. XXV, 11), so do thou comfort the mourners; as he buries the dead (Deut. XXXIV, 5), so do thou bury the dead."[100] Whether the relation of man to God be that of child to father,[101] or wife to husband, or of body-guard to a king, the imitation, the example, *par excellence,* remains the same, and this would be impossible without freedom. Only a free-man—one who can obey or disobey—can be commanded, and the existence of manifold commands and admonitions of *imitatio Dei,*[102] plead eloquently for the conception of freedom.

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[98] Abba Saul, *Sifre* 86c. Similar idea by another rabbi, *Tan.* (Buber) 3:37b; also *Pesikta K.* 16a.

[99] *Tan.* (Buber Ed.) 3:37a.

[100] *Sota* 14a, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.

[101] *Lev. R.* 24.

[102] Other passages on *imitatio Dei* are: *Num. R.* 9:4, 17:6;

E. Repentance Implies Free-Will

The subject of repentance, like so many other subjects touched upon in the development of this paper, is necessarily fragmentary. All that is here intended is to give a general view of the subject and point out what relation it bears to the subject of man's freedom of the will. Repentance in Hebrew comes from the verb שוב which means "to turn" or "to return" or "turn back". There are hundreds of passages in talmudical literature in which man is admonished to do penance, to return to a good life, and forsake the evil way. *It is particularly in its teachings concerning repentance that rabbinic thought shows itself to be a strong foe of determinism.*[103] The much abused passage, "repent one day before thy death", shows that man's power over himself and choice over the alternatives of life, are co-extensive with life itself.[104] The idea of human perfectibility is brought out even more strikingly in the familiar story of the three books and *Rosh Hashanah*. "Three books lie open on *Rosh Hashanah;* one for those altogether wicked, one for those altogether righteous and one for those 'in-between'. In the first the altogether righteous are enrolled and sealed for life; in the second the altogether wicked are enrolled and sealed for death; the 'ones-in-between', on the other hand, remain suspended from New Year's Day until the Day of Atonement. If they become worthy (through repentance) they are enrolled for life, if not (that is, if they *choose* to continue in their evil way) they are enrolled for death."[105] On the other hand, there are many passages which hold out hope even for those "altogether wicked" who can cancel

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Mechilta 59a, 37a; *D. Erez* 5; *Ab. d. R. N.* 56a; *Tan.* (Buber Ed.) 1:28b; *Succ.* 30a; *Sabb.* 133b; *Gen. R.* 8.

[103] *Pes.* 54a; *Ned.* 39b; *Gen. R.* 1; *San.* 98b. These sayings are in the name of various rabbis of various periods. *Lev. R.* 7; *Ab. Z.* 4b-5a; R. Joshua b. Levi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Mid. T.* Ps. I (end); *Ab. d. R. N.* 58a. (Schechter Ed., p. 39, Version 1); *Ber.* 23a; *Num. R.* 13.

[104] *Aboth* 2:14; *Sabb.* 153a; *Mid. T.* 90:16; *Ecc. R.* 9:8; *Ab. Z.* 19a, etc.

[105] *R. H.* 16b-17a; *Pesikta K.* 157b; *Ex. R.* 15; and many other parallels.

the decree inscribed against them. Most of the passages usually quoted in explaining the rabbinic conception of repentance bring out only the idea that may may improve; of course this is the predominant thought, yet there are many passages which also bring out clearly that man may refuse to do so, and out of these alternatives freedom becomes an unquestioned fact.[106]

Maimonides has well summarized the essence of the rabbinic conception of repentance in his *Mishneh Torah,* as follows: "Repentance means that the sinner gives up the sin, removing it from his mind, and determining in his heart not to repeat the evil action again; so also must he regret his past . . . and confess it with his lips and give expression to the thoughts he has determined in his heart."

Inasmuch as the essence of repentance points to a change of actions on the part of man, and inasmuch as the frequent admonitions on the part of the thinkers and teachers of all periods of Jewish thought call for repentance, the implication is that a man has power and is free to mould his own actions. Without freedom, repentance is impossible.

F. Retribution Implies Free-Will

One who searches for the correct answer to or the final word on the subject of retribution must in the end answer as did the son of man in Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones: "Thou knowest, oh Lord". As this subject alone would need more than the limits of this paper for an adequate treatment, we can do little more than give an outline of the more important doctrines, as found among the rabbis and point out what relation they have to the subject of man's freedom.

Man is a responsible being, and is called to account both for sins of commission and of omission. The frequently quoted saying of Akiba illustrates man's responsibility for acts of commission. "Everything is given on pledge, and a net is spread for all the living; the shop is open, and the dealer gives credit; the

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[106] *R. H.* 17b; *Yebamoth* 105a; *Pesikta K.* 163a; *Ex. R.* 31 to Ex. XXII, 25.

ledger lies open and the hand writes; and whosoever wishes to borrow may come and borrow; but the collectors make their daily round regularly and exact payment from men whether they are content or not. And they can rely upon getting what they demand, and the judgment is a judgment of truth, and everything is prepared for the feast."[107]

That man is also responsible for the sins of omission, the following passage, accredited to R. Papa, illustrates: "Whoever is in a position to prevent sins from being committed by the members of his household and refrains from doing so, becomes liable for their sins; whoever could warn (and thus prevent) the inhabitants of this city from sin and neglects to do so, is responsible for their sins; and whoever, in like manner, does not warn (and thus prevent) the world from sin, is responsible for the sins of the world." According to R. Simeon b. Yochai, the individual's obligation to his community "is to be compared to people sitting on board a ship, one of whose passengers took out an awl and began to bore holes in the bottom of the vessel. When he was asked to desist from his dangerous occupation, he answered, 'Why, I am only making holes under my own seat', forgetting that when the water came in it would sink the whole ship."

The relation of all that has so far been said on the subject of retribution to the problem of freedom may well be summarized in the following passage, which shows clearly that retribution is a corollary to man's freedom: "Because I (God) have given you so many commandments, therefore I also shall increase your reward; for every command have I set the punishment for its transgression and the reward for its fulfillment."[108]

The whole subject of retribution, with the possible exception of that phase which considers it an unfathomable mystery,[109] not only implies freedom of the will, but cannot stand without it;

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[107] 2d Cent., Tana, *Aboth* 3:16.

[108] R. Joshua 80-120; *Ex. R.* 30 to Ex. XXII, 1.

[109] R. Yannai, Palestinian Amora, 2d and 3d Cent.; *Aboth* 4:15; R. Akiba, *Menachoth* 29b; R. Jehuda in name of Rab, 2d Cent.; R. Meir, 2d Cent., Tana; *Ber.* 8a. A similar statement depicting the mystery of Providence is that of R. Asi, Palestinian Amora, 3d Cent.; *Ex. R.* 45 to Ex. XXXIII, 12.

the mystery of retribution argues neither for nor against man's freedom. There are, moreover, hundreds of sayings on the subject of retribution which directly as well as indirectly assert that man is free. Freedom makes for responsibility and responsibility is the foundation for retribution.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study have shown that free-will was as much a problem to the rabbis of old as it is to us today. They were conscious of the limitations of man's freedom, yet by emphasizing those elements, which are in the power of man, and modifying those which are above and beyond his reach, the rabbis showed that they believed in the freedom of the will. Heredity, an obstacle to freedom, they treated theologically and ignored the difficulty; habit they treated more scientifically than any other subject. The rabbis' belief in freedom stands out clearly when they assert it alongside of God's prescience and claim the latter is not causative. The fact that man can improve upon his past argues strongly for his freedom. Repentance, *Imitatio Dei,* Commands, Admonition and Retribution, all have no meaning with freedom; these play by far the most important role in rabbinic thought. Contrary to what one would expect, freedom of the will in rabbinic literature finds most of its support from the philosophical rather than from the theological point of view—in fact, most of the passages bearing on determinism, predestination, original sin and fatalism are purely theological, and the result of theological premises.

An historical classification of the material collected for this paper brought out nothing but what has already been indicated in the foregoing pages. The *pros* and *cons* of the problem differed but little in the various periods of history from which the sources were derived.

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H

HEINRICH GRAETZ

A CENTENARY

RABBI GOTTHARD DEUTSCH

The collective wisdom laid down in proverbs and the views expressed by leading thinkers unite in the conviction that the masses can always be trusted in expressing a truth. In all languages probably we find proverbs which teach that the voice of the masses is the verdict of history. *Vox populi, vox Dei* or, as modern Hebrew writers express it in a combination of biblical quotations, קול המון בקול שדי. Considering the fact that the interest in Jewish literature is very limited, and that few of its works have found the recognition given to them by a second edition, it is a decisive vote of confidence that the History of the Jews, by Graetz, was honored by the demand of a fifth edition in certain parts, and by a translation, wholly or in part, into five languages, English, French, Russian, Hebrew, and Yiddish.

Another popular conviction testifying to the unique importance of Graetz's work is found in the bitter antagonism which it aroused in various quarters, representing opinions, widely different and strongly antagonistic to each other.

> "Die schlechsten Fruechte sind es nicht,
> Woran die Wespen nagen."[1]

Perhaps no other work in modern Jewish literature has been so severely criticised as was Graetz's *History*. The first opposition naturally came from technical scholars who, impatient with in-

[1] G. A. Buerger, *Trost*.

accuracies in details or provoked because their own technical work was not given due credit, indulged in vehement invectives against the author whose work was so signally encouraged by popularity. Steinschneider, in a review of volume VII of Graetz's *History,* calls him an ignoramus and a plagiarist.[2]

The orthodox, led by Graetz's former teacher, Samson R. Hirsch, called him an infidel, and some of their recent champions, young men who still have to prove by their own works their title to respect, condemn the master of Jewish historiography in a manner which condemns itself. Jonas Bondi, reviewing the Hebrew history of Isaac Halevy, allows himself the side remark: "Von kleinen Geistern, wie Graetz und I. H. Weiss, wollen wir gar nicht reden."[3]

Raphael Breuer, a grandson of Samson R. Hirsch, and the literary champion of the latter's ideas, which have become a family heirloom, arrogates to himself the right of speaking of the *Tendenzioese Charlatanismus,* which has in Graetz its powerful representative.[4]

While in this way orthodoxy denounces Graetz for having sacrificed historic truth to liberal tendencies, liberalism condemns him as a fanatic. *Neue Freie Presse,* the influential Vienna daily, called him a bigot,[5] and Ludwig Bamberger, one of Germany's leading politicians, in an essay entitled *Deutschtum und Judentum,*[6] calls him the "Stoecker of the synagog". The pan-German jingoes who, in the early seventies, inaugurated the antisemitic movement condemn Graetz again for his fanatic hatred of Christianity and for his anti-German prejudices. In the latter respect the attacks of von Treitschke, in his *"Ein Wort ueber unser Judentum",*[7] created quite a literature, in which the advocates of the Jewish side, as the above named Ludwig Bam-

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2 *Heb. Bibliogr.* VI, 73-74.

3 *Der Israelit,* 1901, p. 812.

4 *Der Israelit,* 1906, No. 40, p. 9.

5 *Neuzeit,* 1868, p. 213.

6 *Unsere Zeit,* February, 1880.

7 Berlin, 1880; first published in *Preussische Jahrbuecher,* Dec., 1879, and Jan., 1880.

berger, Professor Harry Bresslau, Graetz's former disciple, Hermann Cohen, and his former colleague, M. Joel, unite in the emphatic declaration, that Graetz is not a representative of the real sentiments of the German Jews. It seems to me that Ludwig Philippson, the classic publicist, was perhaps the only one who in those days of excitement, following the recrudescence of the anti-Jewish sentiments, preserved his calmness of mind. He says of Graetz's History that while it is inferior to the work of Jost, in scientific system, it is, on the other hand, more warmhearted, more popular, and richer in material. While more popular, it is nevertheless based on a thorough and original study of the sources, but, on the other hand, it also shows the author's partisan bias and his romantic inclinations.[8]

True historic method requires that all facts after they have been critically ascertained, shall be presented in their connection with, and their dependence on previous events and leading currents of the age. It is but proper that we apply this method to the presentation of the life of the greatest Jewish historian. Heinrich (Hirsch)[9] Graetz was born October 31, 1817, in the little town of Xions, province of Posen. At a very early age he was brought by his parents to Zerkov, another little town in the neighborhood, where he received the usual *Ḥeder* education. When he was fourteen years old his mother brought him to Wollstein, where he was to attend the *yeshibah*. No name of any of his teachers or of his early friends has been preserved to us. The influence which helped to shape his individuality in the period of his adolescence can only be ascertained from the

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[8] "Wenn es auch an streng wissenschaftlicher Haltung dem Geschichtswerke von Jost nachsteht, so ist es dafuer lebendiger, waermer, ausfuerlicher, und popudaerer. Durch diese Eigenschaften erlangte es seine Verbreitung. Dabei stuetzt es sich auf eigene, und meist gruendliche Studien. Treitschke und Graetz sind beide als Geschichtsforscher Parteigaenger und Romantiker." *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1880, p. 21.

[9] Graetz's real name was Hirsch as it appears on the title page of his first book. On the title page of his other works he omitted his first name altogether or indicated it by the initial "H". In the catalog of the University of Breslau, this name appears as "Heinrich".

conditions prevailing in the section of the country in which the future historian spent the second decade of his life.

The province of Posen is that part of the kingdom of Poland which, in 1772, first came under Prussian dominion and, after the vicissitudes of the Napoleonic era, was definitely incorporated into the kingdom of Prussia in 1815. If we wish to understand the importance of this fact for the life of the Jews in this territory, we need merely regard the wide difference between the character of two such cities as Ostrowo and Kalisch, or Lissa and Cracow. Up to 1772 there was no difference in the spiritual life of these Jewish communities. The artificially drawn boundary line, which assigned Kalisch to Russia and Cracow to Austria, while Lissa and Ostrowo became Prussian, made a world-wide difference in the character of their respective Jewish inhabitants. The Polish Jews of Austria were living under a lax and inefficient government, those of Russia passed under a tyrannical rule which desired to maintain their aloofness, while those fortunate enough to come under the harsh but efficient administration of well-trained Prussian officials were rapidly being transformed into a cultural state, which placed them on a level with their brethren in western Europe.

The Prussian minister of education, von Altenstein, issued an order, dated July 14, 1824, which ruled that all *hеders* must be closed and that all Jewish children must receive secular education either in schools of their own, from teachers who had to obtain a state's certificate, or in the city schools.[10] Aaron Bernstein preserved to us the humorous, and at the same time pathetic picture of the old *Melammed*, deprived of his livelihood, who, otherwise the ideal of meekness, can never forgive Altenstein that *rishes* which deprived him of his livelihood, and for which he tries to find consolation in the study of the "Holy *Sheloh*".[11] While these representatives of the old Polish ideal of Jewish education smarted under the blow struck by the "tyranny" of

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10 Heppner-Herzberg: *Juden in Posener Landen*, 221-222, Bromberg, 1914. Holzmann: *Geschichte der juedischen Lehrerbildungsanstalt*, Berlin, p. 2, where the order is dated May 15.

11 Bernstein: *Voegele der Maggid*, Berlin, 1860.

Prussian officialdom, the young boys eagerly partook of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. The results are seen in the numerous prominent scholars who, born at that period in the province of Posen, attained high rank in the world of science. We may mention the great medical celebrities, Hermann Senator, Robert Remak, Hermann Munk, Isidor Rosenthal, the historian Philip Jaffe, and the philosopher, Moritz Lazarus. In the *yeshibah* of Wollstein, Graetz obtained a copy of Hirsch's *"Neunzehn Briefe ueber Judenthum, herausgegeben von Ben Usiel, Altona,* 1836." The book made a powerful impression on the mind of the young man. Here was a staunch Jew filled with glowing enthusiasm for Israel's religion and yet a man of German culture, quite different from the leaders of Judaism in Prussian Poland who, like Akiba Eger or even some men of the succeeding generation, like M. L. Malbim, fought for the suppression of secular education and were bound to alienate the best elements of the rising generation from Judaism. In his youthful enthusiasm, Graetz wrote to the author of the work, which seemed to him to secure the future of Judaism. He wished to place himself under his tutelage. Hirsch replied in a sympathetic tone. He was longing for a disciple who was mature enough to be his fellow student, and eagerly accepted the offer of Graetz, who spent three years at his house in Emden, 1837-1840. He probably intended to devote himself to the ministry, for we hear that he preached in Wollstein.[12] Meantime, however, like many young men, both Jews and Christians before entering the ministry, he became tutor in a private family. He spent two years as such in Ostrovo, where he exercised considerable influence on the young people. It is reported that many young men, stimulated by his example and advice, left the *yeshibah* to enter secular schools. Among them was the afterwards famous statesman, Eduard Lasker.[13]

Graetz's ideas in those days seem to have been in full harmony with those of his teacher, Samson R. Hirsch. He believed in a Judaism which was to remain true to the rabbinic ideal of the previous generation, with the only difference that it should give

[12] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* 1841, p. 78.

[13] Gotthelf: *Eduard Lasker in Libermann's Kalender,* Breslau, 1885.

up the opposition to secular studies, and to western culture in social life. Desirous of obtaining a university education Graetz, in 1842, went to Breslau. During the three years which he spent at the university, the agitation for reform in Germany was at the height of its development. Breslau was conservative, although it had in 1840 called Geiger as its rabbi. That part of the congregation which followed the leadership of this brilliant champion of progress was numerically small, although it made up for its numbers by culture, wealth, and social standing. The majority of the congregation sided with Zechariah Frankel's views, proclaimed in the sensational letter in which he announced his withdrawal from the Frankfort Conference in 1845.[14] It is significant for the development of modern Judaism, that the question of ritual was more intelligible to the Jewish masses than that of dogma. The Conference of Frankfort declared, in an indirect form, its belief that the vernacular must ultimately become the language of public service. Frankel's protest against this resolution found enthusiastic consent, and the sympathy of the Breslau community was given tangible expression by Graetz in an address for which he obtained many signatures, and which made enemies for him in the progressive circles, who called him a *"Polish Bacher"* and *"Naseweiser Schulbube"*,[15] but gained for him Frankel's friendship.

This consent to Frankel's attitude was bound to estrange him from Samson Hirsch, although the bitter animosity of Hirsch against Frankel was not yet as pronounced as it became fifteen years later, when Frankel had published his introduction to the *Mishnah*. For some years Graetz and Hirsch still remained friends. The former dedicated his doctor thesis, which was published in 1846, under the title *"Gnosticismus und Judentum"* to his teacher, whom he called "the champion of historic Judaism".[16] In 1847, when Hirsch was called to Nikolsburg as Landrabbiner

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[14] Jost: *Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten*, III, 251.

[15] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1845, 532, 641.

[16] dem geistvollen Kaempfer fuer das geschichtliche Judenthum, dem unvergesslichen Lehrer, dem vaeterlichen Freunde in Liebe und Dankbarkeit.

of Moravia, Graetz followed him. He lived there a strictly orthodox life which, as a small incident reported to me orally proves, was too strict for the pious community, the majority of whom had some doubts as to the Landrabbiner's orthodoxy. Graetz took his own *Lulab* and *Etrog* into the synagog, which from the standpoint of Moravian orthodoxy, was not proper for an unmarried man. Hirsch recommended him as school principal to Lundenburg, a place about ten miles from Nikolsburg, where he remained about two years. According to the testimony of contemporary papers, his work was not a success.[17] The criticism of the Vienna paper gives the impression of being inspired by personal bias, but it is of interest that the correspondent charges Graetz with an attempt to make up by ritualistic zeal what he lacks in pedagogy. He is said to have reported to the Landrabbiner, that a *kosher* restaurant in Lundenburg did not observe the ritual law strictly. It is quite possible, however, that Graetz, with his academic mind and with his lack of systematic schooling, was not the proper man to manage an elementary school of a little country town.

Without any definite purpose, he went to Berlin, where he delivered lectures on Jewish history but did not hold any office. At that time he had already formed with remarkable precision his plan for a new Jewish history. It was to comprise eleven volumes, of which he published the fourth, containing the Talmudic period, in 1853. While in Berlin, engaged in his great literary task, he made the acquaintance of Leopold Zunz. The latter is said to have made a sarcastic remark when he was told that Graetz was engaged in writing a Jewish history. We can easily understand this skepticism on the part of a man who, working industriously in collecting material for Jewish history, did not believe the time ripe for putting it in readable form. This incident is said to be responsible for Graetz's bitter remark on Zunz and his compilation of notes which are more apt to confuse than to enlighten the reader.[18] While the technical

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[17] *Wiener Blaetter*, 1851, No. 33 and 37; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1853, 518; *Neuzeit*, 1864, 357.

[18] Dr. Zunz's mehr verwirrender als aufhellender Notizenkram und

scholar was unsympathetic, the orthodox, usually filled with contempt for or at best indifferent to history, became Graetz's enemies. His former protector, Samson Hirsch, was the first to denounce the work of his disciple as rank heresy. We cannot find fault with Hirsch for his standpoint, as one single point in his criticism will make clear. The Talmud[19] reports a convention held at Lydda, which passed a resolution, that in times of persecution a Jew may transgress the law in order to save his life, except in the case of idolatry, incest and murder. Graetz[20] brilliantly conjectures that this convention took place at the time of the Hadrianic persecution, when the Emperor prohibited the observance of the Sabbath, of circumcision, and the study of the Torah. In such a time the rabbis would have to compromise with actual conditions. Hirsch's criticism is well taken from an orthodox viewpoint. He argues, if the rabbinical law is merely an accommodation to conditions and, as in this case, a sacrifice of principle by opportunism, the reform standpoint is incontrovertible and rabbinic law cannot claim any authority.[21] From that time on Graetz became the scarecrow of orthodoxy. The hostility increased when Zechariah Frankel at the opening of the Breslau seminary called him as teacher of history, a position which he held until his death, September 7, 1891. The mention of his name was sufficient to prove the disciples of the Breslau seminary heretics. The attacks on him increased when, twenty years after the publication of the fourth volume, the first two volumes containing the history of the biblical times appeared. *Der Israelit*, the pugnacious organ of German cultured orthodoxy, established in 1860, never tired of denouncing Graetz as an enemy of Judaism, as an arch infidel, as standing outside of the pale of Judaism, to which lately was added the most effective form of vituperation in the declaration that

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duerre Nomenklaturen haben meine Arbeit nur wenig gefordert. *Geschichte*, V, p. VI, Leipsic, 1860.

19 *Sanhedrin*, 74a.

20 *Geschichte*, IV, 157, 3d ed.

21 *Jeschurun*, IV, 289-307, Frankfort a. M., 1856. Graetz alludes to Hirsch as "ketzerriechender Klausner" in his preface to *Geschichte*, vol. VI, Magdeburg, 1860.

the work of Graetz, both as historian and exegete, possesses no scientific value whatsoever.[22] The orthodoxy of eastern Europe was more determined. A *Maskil* in Lancut, Galicia, who secretly ate of the tree of knowledge, possessed a volume of Graetz's History, which he gave to a bookbinder to bind. In some way a religious fanatic obtained knowledge of this contraband. He informed against the owner of the heretical book, who was excommunicated. The incident led to a trial in court on the charge of blackmail, and six people were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.[23] It is quite remarkable that while Graetz's work was condemned so severely as heretical, the progressive element in Judaism also felt offended by what was believed anti-liberal bias in the work of Graetz. It is claimed that Isaac M. Jost made the caustic remark when the third volume of the History, which followed the fourth, appeared, that "Graetz is going backwards and you will see that he will continue to retrograde".[24] This report comes a little too late to be accepted as unquestionably genuine. Authentic reports do not show any antagonism between Graetz and the liberal branch of Jewish scholarship until about 1869, when the eleventh and last volume of his history was to appear. The publication of the fourth volume which, as was already stated, was the first to appear, was not a financial success. The publisher refused to risk the responsibility for the publication of any other volume. In this difficulty Graetz turned to the *Institut zur Foerderung der Israelitischen Literatur,* which was founded in 1855 by Ludwig Philippson, the most practical of German authors on Judaism. The directors of this publication society undertook to publish the whole work, and it certainly redounds to the credit of Isaac M. Jost, one of the directors, that he consented to the publication of a work which was destined to supersede his own. We must, however, also admire Graetz for the clearness of perception and the energy which carried the work out in the plan originally

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[22] *Der Israelit,* 1871, 384, 627; 1873, 173; 1876, 249-251; 1881, 686-688; 1891, 1429; 1912, No. 9, p. 4.

[23] *Der Israelit,* 1876, 989, 1009-1010.

[24] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums,* 1886, 679.

laid down, although twenty-three years elapsed between the publication of the first and the last volume of his work.

The fourth volume, published in 1853, was followed by the third, published in 1856. Then followed the fifth volume in 1860, and the eleventh was ready for the press in 1869. Preparing his work, Graetz published monographs in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthum,* founded by Frankel in 1854 and of which Graetz assumed the editorship in 1868. Essays which had appeared in this periodical on modern Jewish history displeased the liberal element very much, and Graetz was asked to submit his manuscript to the directors of the Publication Society for examination. He refused to comply with this request, and the Publication Society refused to publish it under any other conditions. The publisher, however, was now so convinced of the success of the undertaking that he published this eleventh volume at his own risk. It is a remarkable proof of Ludwig Philippson's correct judgment that this eleventh volume is the least popular of all. While the fourth volume has seen five editions, the eleventh volume was not republished for the second time until 1912. Still more significant is the fact that the Hebrew translator, though surely not for reasons of liberalism, refused to include this volume in the Hebrew version on the ground of its bias.

Summing up the objections to Graetz's history from the point of view of the orthodox, we can understand them as a condemnation of historic criticism as such. One of their champions plainly declared that history is infidelity.[25] Graetz offended against the canon of the orthodox by his explanation of rabbinical law as the result of the conditions of the age instead of accepting it as authentic interpretation of the divine law, and he more strongly offended the orthodox conscience by his acceptance of critical theories on the Bible, which led him to assign the book of Ecclesiastes to an author of the time of Herod; which not merely accepted the theory that the Psalms dated from the exile or the Maccabaean period, but even admitted various sources of the Pentateuch, some of which dated from the exilic period. This

[25] *Der Israelit,* 1915, No. 2.

critical view of the Bible ought to have protected him against the charge of orthodoxy. He aroused, however, the severe condemnation of the liberal element by his attitude to reform. The latter is to him a mere mimicry and a fawning to Christianity. For instance, he calls confirmation a mechanical rattling off of a confession of faith which has no place in Judaism.[26] For this he is censured by Leopold Loew, who calls this opinion a specimen of "a history which does not aim at teaching the truth, but at serving reaction".[27] Very biased is Graetz's presentation of Israel Jacobson, the real champion of synagog reform. Jacobson had his faults, as everybody has, but he was a generous supporter of everything good, and an ardent believer in the future of Judaism. To Graetz he is a mere poseur.[28] It looks almost like a nemesis of history, that the fact, in itself indifferent, on which Graetz bases his statement, is not correct. Graetz informs us that Jacobson received from the Princess of Brunswick a wreath of oak leaves as a tribute of admiration for the sermon which he preached at the dedication of the synagog of Seesen. The enthusiastic expression of gratitude on Jacobson's part is to Graetz a specimen of his love of the theatrical. Ruelf proved that this honor was not paid to Jacobson at that time, but four years previously.[29] His one-sidedness, which prejudiced him against reform, is shown in a case which is important enough to be mentioned as a specimen because here Graetz is not guilty of a mere oversight, but he deliberately misrepresented his source. Speaking of Isaac Bernays, the teacher of Samson Hirsch, he quotes Heine as a witness to the respect paid to this expounder of Neo-orthodoxy even by such a master of sarcasm as Heine. Graetz quotes Heine as having said verbatim, "I heard Bernays preach . . . none of the Jews understand him. He has no particular aims, and never will accomplish anything tangible,

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[26] *Geschichte*, XI, 412.

[27] *Lebensalter*, p. 222; *Szegedin*, 1875.

[28] "Wie er ueberhaupt sein Leben lang Rollen spielte." *Geschichte*, XI, 307.

[29] *Einiges aus der ersten Zeit und ueber den Stifter der Jacobson Schule in Seesen*, p. 34, Brunswick, 1890.

but he is a brilliant man and has more brains than Kley, Salomon, Auerbach."[30] Edward Duckesz, a modern champion of orthodoxy, although belonging to the school which detests Graetz, appropriates this statement in a monograph on Bernays.[31] In the passage omitted by Graetz, and indicated by periods, which is bound to leave the reader under the impression that the words omitted are indifferent, Heine says: "Bernays is a charlatan." He adds, "I respect him because he hoodwinks these Hamburg crooks, but I have a far greater respect for the sainted Cartouche."[32] In another letter he speaks indeed of Bernays as a man of force who is bound to win the respect even of those who are indifferent to religion.[33]

This case proves that Graetz's bias against reform went so far as to make him deliberately suppress inconvenient facts. His orthodox opponents delighted in joining his liberal critics, who denied to Graetz's History a scientific character. Mendel Hirsch, the son of Samson and a blind admirer of his father, claims that one of Graetz's friends said to Samson Hirsch: "What is the use of your constant attacks on Graetz? Everybody knows that his book has no scientific value."[34] The almost fanatical condemnation of Steinschneider was quoted before. It is often repeated in Steinschneider's works.[35] Imitating the master, whom the orthodox could surely not claim as their own, an orthodox writer sneeringly criticises Graetz's "arbitrary" statement that Jacob Joshua of Frankfort on the Main was born about 1680.[36] The "terrible mistake" is corrected by the author of the sketch of Jacob Joshua's life through the triumphantly quoted proof that Jacob Joshua was born in 1681. Nemesis vindicated Graetz in this case almost providentially, for his critic miscalculated the date of Jacob Joshua's birth, which was Kislev 21, 5441,

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30 *Geschichte*, XI, 432.

31 *Jahrbuch der Juedisch Literarischen Gesellschaft*, V, 306, Frankfort a. M., 1907.

32 A noted French criminal.

33 *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1899, p. 141.

34 *Der Israelit*, 1897, 267.

35 See, for instance, *Heb. Bibliogr.*, IV, 63.

36 *Der Israelit*, 1906, Nos. 6 and 11.

as 1681, while it is actually December 12, 1680. It is nevertheless of some importance that we discuss the frequent charge leveled against Graetz that he sacrificed historic exactness to partisanship and to his love of the romance. In this respect it is indeed rather remarkable that Graetz should have begun his History with the words "A few Nomadic tribes entered on a bright spring day, the land of the Jordan Valley." Neither the Bible nor any other source reports that Abraham entered the land of promise in the spring, nor that it was a sunny day. The love for romance and the desire to interest his readers guides Graetz very often in important matters. He gives us the legend that Charlemagne called Kalonymos of Lucca to Mayence to make him chief rabbi of all German Jews as absolute fact. Scientific criticism ought to have warned him against accepting such a statement which is not reported until about 700 years later, and which so markedly suggests the analogy with similar stories, from the interest taken by King Darius in the rebuilding of the Temple[37] to the story that Czar Paul visited the *Hasidic* rabbi, Schneor Zalman of Liadi, in his prison to ask for his advice in important matters of the state.[38] Graetz, however, is not satisfied with accepting this legend as historical fact which many others have done before and after him.[39] He sees in Charlemagne's act the desire to encourage the Jews in their commercial activity, which the Emperor valued so highly in the interest of the cultural progress of his state. Of a similar nature is Graetz's statement that Charlemagne's wife had an influence on her husband through her admiration of the Jewish religion.[40]

A difficulty for which Graetz cannot be held responsible is the lack of system in the arrangement of events. Older Jewish history suffers from a lack of coherence owing to the fragmentary nature of our sources. We possess occasionally material from one country, and then our sources fail us completely for cen-

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[37] Ezra VI, 3-12.

[38] Helman: *Bet Rabbi*, p. 58, Berdyszew, 1903.

[39] Graetz: *Geschichte*, V, 182, 3d ed. Guedemann: *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 107; II, 12.

[40] *Geschichte*, V, 207, 3d ed.

turies. It, therefore, becomes difficult to find proper chapter headings, such as we can easily find for modern history beginning with the eighteenth century. Yet it seems rather arbitrary when Graetz gives to a chapter of his History the title "The epoch of the five Isaacs, and of Yizhaki".[41] The title is not quite original because Abraham Ibn Daud also introduces the history of this epoch, with the words: "There were at that time five leading rabbis, all of whom were named Isaac."[42] Some inaccuracies are unavoidable. No one is more painfully aware of human failings than a student of Jewish history who, by his experience, is bound rather to admire Graetz for the wonderful amount of correct information that he gathered than to find fault with him for the inaccuracies which he embodied in his masterly work. Graetz reports that people of Austria, excited by the march of the Turks against Vienna, attacked the Jews, and the Jews of Ungarisch-Brod became the victims of the anger of their Christian neighbors.[43] The fact of the matter is that this massacre was the work, not of imperial troops or Austrian loyalists, but of marauders who had deserted from the army of the Emperor and had joined the Sultan.[44] Personal bias, if we may use this term with regard to characters of the past, occasionally makes Graetz unjust. Jonathan Eybeschuetz is a special object of dislike to Graetz. One may fully understand this attitude or even share it, as I am willing to admit for myself, but Graetz is guided by his antipathy to charge Eybeschuetz unjustly with cowardice in the defense of Judaism against the ritual murder accusation.[45] Nemesis in this case refuted Graetz by the fact that the library of his own institution possesses a German protest against the ritual murder charge signed by Jonathan Eybeschuetz.[46] It has further come to light that Jonathan Eybeschuetz, while still preacher in Prague, urged

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41 *Geschichte*, VI, Chap. 3.
42 Neubauer: *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, I, 73, Oxford, 1887.
43 *Geschichte*, X, 257.
44 Kaufmann: *Monatsschrift f. G. u. W. d. J.*, 37, 270 et seq.
45 *Geschichte*, X, 395, 3d ed.
46 Brann's note to the 3d ed. of *Geschichte*, X, 395.

the Jesuit Haslbauer[47] to make such a statement against the calumniation of Judaism.[48] This fact, trivial as it may be, shows Graetz's passionate nature in the same way as it appears from his hostile remarks on partisans of the reform movement as Israel Jacobson and David Friedlaender. Had he been guided by historic temper, Graetz ought surely not to have said more than that it is rather remarkable that Jonathan Eybeschuetz did not make any effort to protest against the ritual murder charge, repeated at that time by Polish Talmudists who had become apostates. A case of a mere oversight is the remarkable statement that Azariah Dei Rossi, the bold critic, was an admirer of Moses Isserl's curious apology for Judaism entitled *Torat ha'olah*.[49] What Dei Rossi actually says is the severest condemnation of the whole book. He declares that it is an unsystematic, incoherent collection of arbitrary ideas, ascribing to the rabbis of talmudic times thoughts that they could never have dreamed of, and that it is unintelligible how the author of such a book should enjoy a reputation as a scholar.[50] Graetz must evidently have made his remarks either from memory, or from notes that were so brief that he misinterpreted them when he embodied them in his book. This specimen is of great interest because it surely must warn us against drawing conclusions from our talmudic sources, when we find in them remarks characterizing the authors of former periods. In this respect Graetz has been too credulous in spite of the orthodox attacks. He takes the rabbinical sources as history except in so far as they contain miracles. Even in such a case he glides over the statement of a miraculous event with some non-committal remark. Thus he accepts the talmudic report that Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus was excommunicated because he would not give up a certain

[47] Haslbauer was not a bishop, as Graetz, X, 351, following Jacob Emden, says, but merely a Jesuit priest who, very much interested in the conversion of the Jews and to some extent a Hebrew scholar, was appointed censor of Hebrew books and enjoyed the confidence of Empress Maria Theresa.

[48] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1859, p. 510.

[49] *Geschichte*, IX, 442, 3d ed.

[50] Chapter II, ed. Benjakob, p. 165, Wilna, 1863.

view on a trivial question of ritual[51] and that his opponents would not yield although a voice from heaven approved of Eliezer's view. Graetz speaks in intentionally vague terms of an impression that a voice was heard such as in moments of doubt and anxiety was considered an expression of divine will.[52] He overlooks the fundamental principle of historic criticism. Either the miracle is a fact or it is a report dating from a later time, which always is willing to see the past surrounded by the halo of the miraculous. In the same connection Graetz committed a rather remarkable error. The talmudic legend of the trial of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus for heresy reports that when the judge addressed the defendant with the words: "How can an old man like you devote himself to such nonsense?" the rabbi replied: "I trust the judge." Graetz informs us that the judge was so deeply touched by this token of confidence that he dismissed the case.[53] The Talmud and Midrash,[54] however, say plainly that Rabbi Eliezer meant that he trusted in God's justice, and that the judge mistook this statement as a compliment. This is in itself a very insignificant matter, which receives its importance only from the fact that it shows us how Graetz occasionally read his sources very carelessly. In addition, he is guided very often by romantic and strongly Jewish inclinations. He tells us, for instance, that the Jews were expelled from Alexandria in 415 by Christian fanaticism. He continues, "We do not know whether the Jews offered resistance or not, but it is rather probable that the affair was accompanied by bloodshed."[55] One can easily read between the lines the strong Jewish feeling of the author, who cannot bear the idea that the Jews should allow themselves to be helplessly slaughtered. Of the same tendency, although in an almost opposite direction, is the report that the Jews were expelled in 850 from the Byzantine Empire, but are already found there again before the end of the ninth century. Such

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51 *Baba Mezia*, 59b.

52 *Geschichte*, IV, 31, 3d ed.

53 *Geschichte*, IV, 44.

54 *Abodah Zarah*, 17a. *Eccl. Rabba*, I, 8.

55 *Geschichte*, IV, 362, 3d ed.

events are not uncommon in Jewish history. Expulsions that were revoked after a short time are of frequent occurrence. Often the expulsion was not even formally revoked, but Jews found readmission by silent toleration. Graetz without a particle of proof, as he frankly admits, conjectures that this readmission to the Byzantine Empire was due to Empress Irene, who was an admirer of Charlemagne and naturally must have shared the latter's supposed affection for the Jews.[56] Similar romanticism is underlying his presentation of the Mortara affair. Graetz reports that the mother of the child became insane from grief.[57] Berliner improves on this romance, adding that the father died soon after the loss of his child.[58] Both reports are false. Solomon Mortara survived the kidnapping of his son, which took place in 1858, for fourteen years, and the mother lived until October 31, 1895, and enjoyed perfect health to the end of her days. More important errors are found in the few references to American conditions. They are important because, if such errors are possible in regard to facts, even the blindest admirer will have to admit the possibility of an erroneous interpretation of facts.

Graetz speaks of the congregations of New York and "New Port" as having been established in the eighteenth century. In another place, discussing the reform movement and its popularity in America, he speaks of the disintegrating congregations—*verfliessende Gemeinden*—with their preachers of the Holdheim type. He speaks of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations as having been founded in 1861 in consequence of the Mortara affair.[59] The matter may in itself be insignificant, but it is important to state as evidence of inaccuracy that the Union was formed in 1873, and what Graetz means was the Board of Delegates, which was indeed founded in consequence of the Mortara affair, not in 1861, but late in 1860.[60] The importance which

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[56] *Ibid*, V, 228, 3d ed.
[57] *Volkstuemliche Geschichte*, III, 745.
[58] *Der Israelit*, 1889, p. 230.
[59] *Volkstümliche Geschichte*, III, 747.
[60] *Occident*, XVII, 109ff.

is attached to these facts lies in the consideration that similar inaccuracies if, for instance, found in the early Christian centuries, would change our whole conception of the condition of affairs. Let us, for instance, say that the Epistles of Paul instead of being written, as they claim to be, by a man who lived about the year 50 were written by one who lived a century later and reflect a spirit of a different age.[61] If this be so, our whole conception of the origin of Christianity would be changed.

Some of the difficulties are peculiar and inherent in Jewish history, owing to the condition of our sources. In judging, especially, the history of the talmudic period, with which Graetz made his start, we have to consider three important facts. Lack of exactness as to the time of an author, uncertainty of tradition as to the statement ascribed to him, and the difficulty of properly interpreting the latter. Graetz gives us, for instance, the story of Antigonos of Socho[62] who said, "Be not like servants who serve their masters for the sake of reward." Graetz bases his conjecture as to the time of Antigonos on the name, claiming that Antigonos must have been named for the general of Alexander the Great by that name, which would prove that this general left a good reputation in Judaea and would prove further that Antigonos was born about 300. Anybody can see that this assumption is entirely arbitrary. Graetz continues, saying that Antigonos followed in the spirit of his teacher, Simon the Just, who enjoined his disciples to be careful in judgment, to teach many disciples and to construct a fence around the Torah. The first question must be that of chronology. It is sufficient to point to the fact that a man like Leopold Loew[63] identifies Simon the Just with Simon the Maccabee. If Loew is right, then Antigonos was not born about 300, but 200 years later. The next question is, can we rely on tradition as to the exactness of the words ascribed to these men. Our experience in modern times shows that quotations are usually given very carelessly. Any number of authors, otherwise quite responsible, say

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61 Hastings: *Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 717a.

62 *Geschichte*, II, 229, 239, 2d ed.

63 *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 399-449, Szegedin, 1889.

that Hillel taught: "Love thy neighbor as thyself,"[64] which is a combination of the statement of Hillel: "Do not unto thy neighbor what is hateful unto thee,"[65] with that of Akiba: "Love thy neighbor as thyself is the whole Torah."[66] The similarity between the expressions of Hillel, Akiba, and Jesus is in itself suggestive of the possibility of error which is quite common in our time. The expression, "Every country has the Jews which it deserves," has been ascribed at various times to Napoleon, to Lord Palmerston and to a number of others, while it actually was coined by the ghetto novelist, Karl Emil Franzos.[67] The very much quoted statement: "War is hell," has been ascribed quite lately by a British publicist to Abraham Lincoln, while usually it is ascribed to General Sherman who, according to the testimony of an investigator, did not say it, but said "War is cruel." A responsible author who corrected it, proving that Sherman did not say the words ascribed to him to the women of Atlanta at all and did not use them in the form usually quoted, said: "Half of our quotations are misquotations."[68] Even taking it for granted that the quotations in the Sayings of the Fathers are always correct, the question of the proper interpretation of such ancient historic texts still remains. This difficulty becomes greater in talmudic texts, because almost all of them are merely occasional remarks, and not given in the context as part of the work. To illustrate this difficulty, it is sufficient to say that one could easily prove that Isaac Elhanan Spektor, the most illustrious rabbinic author of Lithuania in the nineteenth century, was a radical reformer. Isaac Elhanan said *verbatim:* "In our days of telegraph, steamship, and post-office connection, rabbinical laws cannot be applied in all their rigor."[69] We know from the context in which he uses this phrase, that he applies this principle to a difficult matrimonial question

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[64] See as especially typical: *Jewish Chronicle,* May 25, 1917, p. 7.
[65] *Sabbath,* 31a.
[66] *Sifra,* Lev. 19, 18.
[67] *Neue Freie Presse,* March 31, 1875.
[68] *New York Times,* Sept. 8, 1914.
[69] *En Yizhak,* p. 230, Wilna, 1888.

in the case of the widow of a man who was lost at sea. According to strict rabbinical law, she could not marry as long as the body of her husband was not recovered and identified. Rabbi Isaac Elhanan feels that this is a hardship, and therefore makes the statement that the laws given by the rabbis were based on conditions which do not apply to our time, but he surely would have shrunk in horror from the idea of making this expression a general rule. In our talmudic works, especially in *Abot,* we have—always considering that the expressions assigned to certain authors are genuine—only such occasional remarks taken out of their context. Graetz bases his whole theory on such occasional statements, and this in itself is not a correct procedure from the point of view of historic criticism. With greater right, we may say of him what he said of Jost:[70] "He began his work with insufficient material at his command, but he blazed for us a path in the labyrinth of Jewish history." I would find a more serious objection to the idea with which he closes his last work, the "Popular Jewish History". He points to the rabbinical seminaries and says: "Theirs may be the task which the Talmud assigned to the Prophet Elijah, that of settling all controversies." If I interpret this remark, made at the close of his History, correctly, Graetz meant to say that Jewish history culminates in rabbinical seminaries, which are called upon to bring about the final harmony between the traditions of Judaism and the requirements of the age. I candidly confess that this seems to me hyperbolical.

Was it perhaps this somewhat narrow view of the specialist overestimating his work that created the sentiment which afterwards was responsible for the trouble which embittered the last years of his life? In 1870, shortly before the war with France began, Graetz was appointed Professor Honorarius at the University of Breslau. Professor Honorarius is a title given to a scholar of merit, who thus obtains the right to hold lectures at the university but receives no salary and has no other privileges of his academic station. Here again we have a case illustrating the importance of the exactness in chronological data. A year

[70] *Volkstuemliche Geschichte,* III, 697.

later this appointment would probably have been impossible. In consequence of the chauvinism that followed the German victories of 1870, the Breslau papers began to publish attacks on Graetz for his hostile attitude to Germany.[71] A few years later, Professor Reichelt, of a Breslau gymnasium, advised his pupils to attend classes in Christian religion in order to become emancipated from the hatred of Christianity which is evidently ingrained in every Jew as is proven by the History of Graetz.[72]

Historic impartiality requires that these charges shall be investigated. It is true that absolute impartiality is an impossibility for an historian. The mere selection of events, like the headlines of a newspaper, already show the personal view of the writer. A mere chronological record again is no history. Yet there is a possibility of seeing both sides of every question. When Graetz speaks of Constantius[73] as the arch heretic hunter and fratricide, he creates in the mind of the reader the impression, undoubtedly not without intention, that strict Christianity is a natural ally of fanaticism and immorality. When he records what was, indeed, a fiendish Christian practice to slap a Jew's face in front of the Cathedral of Toulouse on Good Friday, a practice introduced by the church in the twelfth century, he is righteously indignant at this fact. When he adds, however, that this was done in revenge for the death of Jesus and in accordance with the latter's teachings: "Thou shalt love thine enemies",[74] he oversteps the limits of an historian and is a partisan. When, on the other hand, he interprets a law issued by Alphonse VI of Castile, 1072-1109, which stipulates that in assessing the property of a Jew, a Jew should act as appraiser, as proving that now the darkness of middle ages which had existed since the days of Theodosius II seem to give way to light, he is overestimating the event.[75] He sees in a legal protection which is granted to the Jews even in the darkest ages a principle of tolera-

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[71] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1871, p. 132 et seq.
[72] *Ibid.* 1874, 231.
[73] *Geschichte*, IV, 313, 3d ed.
[74] *Geschichte*, V, 226, 3d ed.
[75] *Geschichte*, V, 226.

tion. Such statements abound in his history. Speaking of a pamphlet published during an antisemitic literary campaign of 1804, he referred to the author sarcastically as *"ein von dem liebevollen Geist des Christenthums erfuellter Schriftsteller"*.[76] Similarly prejudiced is his position to Germany in his presentation of the French Revolution. Nobody will deny that the French Revolution meant a great deal to the Jews. The decree of the National Assembly, issued September 27, 1791, inaugurated indeed a new epoch in Jewish history. The publication of Drumont's *La France Juive* and the Dreyfus affair, which began a century after the promulgation of the Edict of Emancipation, showed to us who lived through this period that there is a wide difference between the theoretical act of emancipation and its complete realization by national sentiment. Graetz, however, is inclined to see in all movements of retardation the German spirit of class distinction. When he records the objection raised by Reubell in the National Assembly against the emancipation, he adds the note, "Reubell was an Alsatian, which explains everything."[77]

It was easy to collect such specimens from Graetz's History. In the days of excitement, created by the antisemitic movement, they served to furnish the proof that the Jew is unassimilative. Misrepresentations were not missing. So the antisemitic *Staatsbuergerzeitung*, July 9, 1912, claimed that Graetz had made the remark, "the Revolution is the star of Judah," a plain, malicious libel, for Graetz never said anything that could be construed to convey such a sentiment. It was pointed out previously that Jewish authors, amongst them Professor Bresslau, condemned Graetz's method, placing him on a level with historians of clerical bias like Onno Klotz.[78] Antisemitic agitation begun by Treitschke had the humiliating effect that the commission for the history of the Jews of Germany, appointed by the *Gemeindebund*, refused to elect Graetz as member. It certainly is not to the credit of such an organization that the man who, beyond any

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[76] *Geschichte*, XI, 262.

[77] *Geschichte*, XI, 209.

[78] *Zur Judenfrage*, p. 21, Berlin, 1880.

question, was the greatest living authority on Jewish history, should have been passed by in such a manner. The explanation given by Professor Bresslau upon an interpellation in the convention of the *Gemeindebund* in 1888, that he and Professor Wattenbach[79] would have resigned if Graetz had been elected is by no means a credit to the historic temper of these otherwise eminent historians.

If we wish to avoid the same error, somewhat pardonable in days of national excitement, we have to explain Graetz from the point of view of the leading principle in his conception of Judaism. Graetz, to state it briefly, was a Zionist before the Zionist movement began. The clearest confession of his faith is a statement which he makes on Judah Halevi's *Kusari*. Summing up his views on that poet thinker, who declared that Judaism's destiny is only to be worked out in Palestine, Graetz says that whatever we may say of Judah Halevi's philosophic ideals, he is a nationalist and his philosophy is the only method by which Judaism can be explained.[80]

In this connection we have to record the interesting law suit of which Graetz was the cause and the center. Graetz had published an essay in Kompert's *Yearbook*, 1863, entitled *Die Verjuengung des Juedischen Stammes*. The main thesis of this essay is that the servant of the Lord, spoken of in Isaiah, is not a personal Messiah, but the people of Israel, and the suffering of the servant of the Lord is the suffering of Israel in the exile which was a lesson not merely for Israel alone, but for the whole world. Lienbacher, the prosecuting attorney of Vienna, brought charges against Graetz for libeling Judaism. In order to understand the situation, we have to cast a glance over the history of Austria at that period. In 1855, during the height of the reaction following the revolution of 1848, a *Concordat* was published between Austria and the Pope which gave to the church rights like those which she claimed during the Middle Ages at the

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[79] *Der Israelit*, 1885, 1490-1491; 1888, 303.

[80] Vor allem is es national, und der Weg den er eingeschlagen, ist der einzige der zum richtigen Verstaendnis des Judentums fuehrt. *Geschichte*, VI, 132, 3d ed.

time when her power was at its height. After Austria's defeat in 1859 in the war with Italy, the conditions changed. Liberalism began to grow and people demanded the abrogation of this humiliating law. Clericalism naturally was not willing to surrender its position, and one of its most ardent and gifted champions was Sebastion Brunner, a priest, who published the Vienna *Kirchenzeitung*. Brunner at once grasped his opportunity. Had he come forward with the proof that Graetz had attacked Christianity, there would have been an outcry against the revival of the Inquisition. So he adopted a prudent course by making himself the champion of Judaism and asking the public prosecutor to bring action against Graetz for having libeled Judaism by his ridicule of the belief in a personal Messiah.[81]

The outcome of the trial does not interest us here except in so far that we may state that the case against Graetz was dismissed because he was not under Austrian jurisdiction. From a Jewish viewpoint it is far more interesting that a storm began to gather in the orthodox camp not merely against Graetz but more so against Mannheimer and Horwitz, the Vienna rabbis, who had testified favorably to his view. While the orthodox rabbis of Europe gathered signatures to declare that Graetz's presentation of the Messianic dogma was a perversion of Judaism, his essay found an enthusiastic translator on this side of the ocean in Isaac Leeser.[82] Graetz's view that the Jewish people is the Messiah, and is indestructible ought to have placed him rather in the ranks of the orthodox. Graetz, however, became more and more the target of attacks from the orthodox side. When returning from Palestine in 1872 he described the conditions there in an unfavorable manner which the orthodox claimed was inspired by what they called reform ideas. Nothing could have been farther from Graetz's mind as we know when we read his presentation of the reform movement which, to put it briefly, he declares as a mimicry of Christianity and as a mere pretense of religion. It is certainly a matter of great consequence that Moritz Hess, the forerunner of the present Zionist

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81 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, 66.

82 *Occident*, XXII, p. 193, et seq.

movement, received his inspiration from reading Graetz's History, translated parts of it into French, and in his now classic pamphlet, *Rom und Jerusalem*, clearly expresses his indebtedness to Graetz's History for his national conception of Judaism.

The most remarkable shortcoming of Graetz's History just from this viewpoint is his negative attitude towards Yiddish and towards modern Hebrew literature. In the latter respect it is quite significant that Graetz should have ignored such an epoch-making work as that of Abraham Mappu, the pioneer of Hebrew fiction. This omission becomes so much graver when we compare it with the large space conceded to such a rather insignificant book as Steinheim's *Gesaenge des Obadiah*. I do not see in this unfairness any intention but believe that Graetz was evidently not aware of the great influence which Mappu's novels had on the impressionable minds of the Lithuanian young men and of the Jews of eastern Europe altogether. To Yiddish he takes a violent dislike, calling it *"lachenerregendes Kauderwelsch"*[83] or repulsive barking, and he says in another place that when the Jews began to talk Yiddish, they lost all aesthetic sense.[84] When a Russian physician asked for his permission to translate the *Volksthuemliche Geschichte* into Yiddish, Graetz protested strongly against what he called disgracing his work.[85]

A word must be said of Graetz as exegete, although this paper was devoted to Graetz, the historian. In the history of Jewish exegesis, Graetz will always occupy the place of a Jewish pioneer of independent and bold criticism, both in textual changes and in discussing the question of the origin of a book. We must not forget that Jewish exegesis was practically dead since the thirteenth century, or at any rate had become petrified. Mendelssohn and his school gave it a new impetus by freeing it at least from the antiquated ideas of ancient *Derashah,* but it was not until Samuel David Luzzatto began his work, that Jewish exegesis could be placed in a line with the work done by Protestant theologians. When Luzzatto first suggested some changes

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[83] *Geschichte*, IX, 445, 3d ed.

[84] *Geschichte*, VII, 17, 3d ed.

[85] *Hamaggid*, Feb. 2, 1888.

in the text for the sake of removing difficulties, Rapoport said to him, "I know that Christian scholars have done the like, but to Jews the *Masorah* must remain an iron wall."[86] Graetz made a very large use of the right to remove difficulties by textual changes. In my opinion, I confess it frankly, he made too liberal use of this privilege. He further adopted some rather radical ideas in answering the question of the authorship of certain books of the Bible. When I say radical, I do not mean those that are diametrically opposed to the current and orthodox notions, but those that are arbitrary because they are too definite. Using his theory of Kohelet as an instance, I would say, that while we all admit, and while even Ibn Ezra observed already that the language of Kohelet is near that of the *Mishnah,* still it is a very bold method to identify certain historic allusions definitely with the time of Herod. It must, however, be said to the credit of Graetz and to the honor of the work done by Jewish scholars, that a great many of his proposed textual changes have been recognized and embodied in the latest biblical commentaries by Protestant German scholars who are by no means over anxious to give credit to Jews for the work done by them in this line.

What gives Graetz his place in history is not his exegetical, but his historical work. There has never been a Jewish history written with that amount of learning and original critical investigation back of it that was written by a warm-hearted Jew, and at the same time in an impressive style which, above all, is responsible for its success. Graetz's work shows errors and inexact information in details. No book dealing with such an immense task, for which the material has to be collected from all literatures of all ages, could be free from such errors. Graetz might have been more careful in individual instances and less guided by preconceived notions. No historian is entirely free from it. But one thing he did accomplish. He wrote a Jewish history which can never be ignored by any one who shall be fortunate enough to gather the material since brought to light and cast it into a readable form. Graetz moreover was not

[86] *Kerem Hemed,* I, 22, Vienna, 1833.

merely a historian; he was a warm-hearted Jew. To those who were privileged to know him, his memory will always be vivid as that of a man who was free from all pretenses, and perhaps this has something to do with his aversion to reform Judaism. He hated anything that smacked of convention. The closing words of his *Volkstuemliche Geschichte* prove that he saw in his own calling as professor at a theological seminary something which was not merely a profession, not merely an opportunity to continue studying, but a sacred task in the interest of the Jewish people.

Judah Halevi, the philosopher whom Graetz esteemed so highly, might have written of him the lines with which he characterized the work of Alfasi: לא עצרו כח נבונים לעמוד לולא תבונה ממך דרשו

I

REV. JAMES K. GUTHEIM

Rabbi Max Heller

In the history of the American rabbinate, the self-made man plays an interesting role in characters and types of great diversity and large divergence; he varies all the way from the unprincipled impostor to the born leader. It is natural that in a pioneering civilization where "a career is open to all talents", abundant opportunities should be afforded, at the one extreme, to the swindler for an opening, and at the other, to genius for untrammelled scope.

There were, of course, different grades and stages of the self-making process among the rabbis of earlier generations. There was the business *Shlemiel,* who could *daven* and who found a precarious living as perambulant rabbi; there was the amateur *Hazan* who learned to preach and maintained himself in comfort so long as the flock was small and unambitious for pulpit oratory; there was the *yeshivah-bachur* who acquired the vernacular and assiduously cultivated the social favor of his flock; there was the pupil of the German *Lehrerseminar* who annexed the doctor title and easily figured as a profound scholar on the strength of his habits of quasi-learned quotation.

Rev. James K. Gutheim was one of the most sterling and estimable among the largely self-made members of the American rabbinate in its pioneer stage. While he made no secret of having had a teacher's education at the Muenster *Seminar,* while he never pretended to the doctor title, while he even never concealed the fact that, for some four years after his arrival in this country, he had followed mercantile pursuits, he attained, by independent study, to a standing as preacher and writer,

as organizer, patriot and civic worker which made him not only easily the first among the rabbis of the South, but also indisputably the foremost Jew in the metropolis of the South.

Instead of enumerating here the mileposts of his life, together with a list of his works, it will be more instructive, in the brief compass allotted, to sketch an estimate of the service he rendered, of the place he held, in his generation.

Among the rabbis of his time Mr. Gutheim was the first product of German rearing to achieve wide reputation as an English orator; herein he forestalled Isaac M. Wise, as he had preceded him to this country and in Bnai Jeshurun congregation. In New Orleans Mr. Gutheim had notable standing as an orator at a time when oratory stood at its zenith; while our standards of public speaking have changed and while his published sermons may be said to fall short of some of our requirements, yet there are among his addresses some that give evidence not only of refined literary taste, but of much solid practical wisdom. His prayers were especially admired for their simplicity and their unaffected fervor; his wedding addresses were distinguished alike by wise counsel and reverential stateliness.

Mr. Gutheim furnished an English translation of Graetz's famous fourth volume, a piece of work which bears traces of haste; he wrote almost all the hymns for the Merzbacher prayerbook, exhibiting an unusual mastery of simple, unaffected hymn-English; he collaborated, for a number of years, with the Jewish Times; there and elsewhere he published, without order or completeness, poetical renditions of the Psalms; under the title "The Temple Pulpit" he issued a number of sermons and addresses, probably hardly representative of his best; finally, in 1885, the year before his death, he read, at the Southern Conference, an essay on Cause, Development and Scope of Reform, which was both religious in spirit and intelligent in interpretation.

In the city and community in which Mr. Gutheim passed almost half of his life, he was an imposing figure. During several yellow fever epidemics his unwearying self-sacrifice was nothing less than heroic; in the war of the secession he threw in his lot, unreservedly, with the Confederacy, leaving his pul-

pit, rather than to swear the oath of allegiance to the conquering Union.

Mr. Gutheim received universal recognition in New Orleans as one of its leading clergymen at a time when the clergy commanded paramount influence. Socially he and his charming wife were welcome in the most select circles; civically he occupied various positions of honor, among them that of member, even Vice-President, of the School Board; in the Jewish life of New Orleans, Mr. Gutheim assisted in every good work in the character of founder and adviser, as executive head of relief work, as first Vice-President of the Orphans' Home and the Touro Infirmary.

Mr. Gutheim's funeral bespoke the wide and deep esteem in which he was held by city and State, regardless of sectarian divisions. It constituted one of the most remarkable demonstrations, in the history of the American rabbinate, of civic honor paid by the general community at the parting of a Jewish spiritual leader. All public buildings were closed, both in New Orleans and at the State Capital of Baton Rouge; legislature and courts adjourned; it was reported that florists exhausted their stocks and that every carriage was hired in attendance upon the funeral. All denominations seemed to join in a general sorrow. The eloquent Dr. B. M. Palmer, for many years the South's most famous pulpit orator, in the course of a eulogy, paid his departed friend this telling tribute which was, subsequently, carved upon Mr. Gutheim's tomb in the beautiful Metairie Cemetery: "He was a man always to be found, when wanted, and to be trusted, when found".

J

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE MINISTRY

RABBI SAMUEL KOCH

Every ministry has its problems, and the Jewish is no exception. The problems that I am to consider were chosen, not by me, but by you—twenty-seven of you—through a referendum. That scarcely ten percent of the membership felt the existence of problems sufficiently to state them to our secretary, upon invitation, in itself suggests a problem. But at that the referendum made it plain to me that the problems of the Jewish ministry in the United States requiring solution do not all exist, invariably, in every hamlet or, at least, not in the same aggravated form. The most pressing problems in the cities are not, generally, I suspect, the most pressing problems in the towns; yet, from the standpoint of collective Jewry, the problems of the burg seem to transcend in importance the problems of the metropolis. The four most pressing problems as determined by the vote are:

1. How to Retain the Interest of Jewish Young Men and Women After the Post-Confirmation Classes.
2. By What Means Can Men be Made to Feel Their Responsibilities in the Pursuit of Jewish Endeavor?
3. To What Extent Should Pastoral Work be Pursued?
4. About What Shall the Minister Speak?

Considerations of time before the Conference and of space in the Yearbook preclude consideration of two of the questions.

I. How to retain the interest of Jewish young men and women after the post-confirmation classes

Our religious schools are not standardized. "Confirmant" and "Post Confirmant" do not mean the same thing in all congregations of even the same type. But until an approximate unity in practice and in aim is attained, our contacts with young men and women, metamorphosed from youth under our very eyes largely, cannot but continue inconstant and unsatisfactory.

The confirmation age in many congregations is thirteen or fourteen years; in some it is sixteen; in still others the fifteenth year is accepted as the standard.

The post-confirmation age also varies. Frequently the post-confirmation classes seem more or less intermittent; according as the rabbi feels in any given year is the post-confirmation class organized or discontinued. Some congregations have only one year of post-confirmation work, others two years and still others four. If we are to consider seriously the retention of our young men and women after the post-confirmation classes, it is important that we have in mind not only a goal, but a standardized plan for reaching it. For the purpose of this discussion, therefore, we shall consider a confirmant one who has been confirmed at fifteen years of age or over.

The post-confirmation period, it seems to me, should cover four years. The pupil, accordingly, will be at least eighteen years of age before he gets beyond the direct influence of the religious school. These post-confirmation years—the nomenclature for the period, High School or post-confirmation department, needs revision, I think,—should be years of earnest endeavor; they should demand much assiduity on the part of the pupil and considerable pedagogic knack on the part of the teacher; at the end there should be some kind of formal graduation with the presentation of diplomas—how greatly these would be enhanced were they given throughout the country during the same week and for a similar curriculum—and scholarships might be awarded for ability along various lines. I am convinced that if we pay our religious school teachers as we should, whether the

sum be large or small, and if we assure these post-confirmants of the right of way for teaching positions, they being otherwise competent, after our list of spiritually-minded public school teachers is exhausted, I am convinced, I say, that our boys and girls will hold on through the religious seminar or post-confirmation department.

What shall we do, now, to retain these boys and girls, who meanwhile have come into manhood and womanhood's estate, after this period? Up to the present time, in most communities, we have been content to forget about the young men and women immediately after the post-confirmation period, whether that period was one or two or four years, and have become aware of them again only at the time of marriage or when, as men and women economically independent, it was felt that they might be persuaded to help out, not so much our spiritual aims as our perplexed congregational treasury. We have been surprised that our young men and women, after this neglect of years, have not felt the impulse and appreciated the invitation to join the congregation when, as a matter of fact, we ought to be amazed that we have been enabled to win them back at all into an even minor type of congregational efficiency.

As I understand the problem, we are endeavoring to devise some way of retaining the interest of the child from the kindergarten on through to that period in life when as a free and able individual he should join the senior congregation.

The suggestion I have to offer is that of a junior congregation. Many good movements are handicapped by the use of terms in wrong or ill-considered ways. There are several types of junior congregations in existence and I would abolish them all. An organization of our boys and girls in the lower grades of our religious schools for the purpose of temple attendance, frequently not oftener than once a month, is not really a junior congregation. Such a congregation is indicative of lost motion and makes, not for progress, but for inefficiency. It is unnecessary. We do not have to win the interest of the boys and girls this side of the confirmation period—we have it. If we would develop the habit of communal worship in these youth in the upper grades—and it is important that we do so—we need but

adopt some kind of an honor roll based on both scholarship and temple attendance. This I know does work out in practice if adhered to rigidly and administered fairly.

Nor do I consider that the right kind of a junior congregation which supplants the post-confirmation period. Here and there, after one or two years of post-confirmation work, the endeavor is made to have a junior congregation. Presumably—else why break the continuity of the post-confirmation period?—unable to retain the post-confirmation children for more than a year or two, the device of a junior congregation is resorted to in a frantic endeavor to hold on for a while longer. Nor is it surprising that such congregations are of mushroom growth. From the standpoint of a permanent institution for young people in later adolescence, they are psychologically wrong.

If we are to retain our young men and women from the kindergarten to the time that they are to join the senior congregation, the question of age of admission to the junior congregation must be considered carefully. Boys and girls of from fifteen to seventeen years of age are still in the period of middle adolescence: young men and women of about eighteen have passed to the period of later adolescence. These latter are not merely a year or so older in years. In interests and ideals and tastes they have changed greatly from their former selves; and with the change have come intimations of the earnestness of life. They have come to the point of view of maturity. Now to endeavor to include representatives of the middle and later adolescence periods in the same organization is to deprive the organization of all chances of permanence. A junior congregation should be homogeneous; composed of young men and women of the same psychological status. No one should be eligible to membership in a junior congregation who is less than eighteen years of age.

Now, given a junior congregation of this type, then what? In the first place the congregation should be organized on the model of the senior congregation. There ought to be, too, a nominal due. Regardless of what may become of the model constitution for congregations—and I endorse it—it seems to me that our young men and women who up to this time have not

been made to feel the necessity of supporting religious institutions ought now to be given this obligation, to the end that they may become habituated to supporting congregational life willingly and generously. This practice, surely, will not increase the number of those to whom the hedonistic and material life seems of greater value than the spiritual.

Moreover, the congregation ought to have its own autonomy. Young men and women of eighteen years and up have begun to have a social vision; they are anxious to do something; they wish to feel that they are independent. To be sure, we shall not always agree with them as to method, but we should remember that to a young man at twenty his father is a fool, and it is only at forty that he discovers that he is the fool! Let the young people exercise initiative and feel freedom in the working out of their problems, and the suggestions that they will make and the ideals they will set for themselves will undoubtedly surprise a great many of us.

Of course, the organization we are considering is really a junior congregation, not a literary or musical society. It has a definite religious object. That object ought to be to endeavor to attend the Sabbath eve or the Sabbath service. It ought to express itself in an earnest effort to refrain from participation in balls and dinner and theatre parties and the like on the Sabbath eve, for these all today are disintegrating the Sabbath-consciousness of the Jew.

Every member in the junior congregation ought to be given some definite work to do. There ought to be many committees—large, if necessary—of which only the chairman should be permanent. So I might suggest—and the suggestion is born of personal experience—that there be a temple-interest committee. Such committee should endeavor to get the young people to attend the Sabbath evening worship. This committee in one instance made this suggestion to the rabbi—that a junior congregation night be established once a month; not that that should be the only night when the members of the junior congregation should attend the services, but that on that night the congregation might evince especial pride in getting its membership out. The suggestion included, further, that on the night in question

the rabbi speak on a theme which the temple interest committee felt would have a special appeal to its membership, and that after the service an open forum be held in the vestry rooms, the social committee contemplating offering light refreshments to promote fellowship. If the members of the junior congregations eventually get into the senior organizations, it seems plain that the frigidity and aloofness which now numbs their life must thaw.

And there are other committees. For instance—and I am speaking of a junior congregation of over a hundred members, many of whom are university students—a committee might be appointed to conduct the Sabbath morning services when the rabbi is away, and the evening service, too, if a senior member is not available; a committee to serve for *minyan* in families who are strangers in the city and into which death has come might render a much appreciated service. A committee, in one instance, is at work endeavoring to develop a service, including song and dance, for a community *Menorah* for Ḥanukkah. It has about been conceded that we cannot abolish Christmas trees from Jewish homes unless we offer a substitute. Why can't there be a community *Menorah* as there are community Christmas trees? The committee feels that the Ḥanukkah tapers are no less radiant than the Christmas candles, and that Judah Maccabee can do as good work and scatter as much cheer as Santa Claus can. The committee hopes to induce parents and friends to send their gifts to the community *Menorah* at the Ḥanukkah celebration.

It is plain that one cannot attempt to enumerate completely the activities open to a junior congregation. New suggestions will come according to the local situation. Though fundamentals must be the same, the chances are no two junior congregations will work out details alike.

The junior congregation has an advantage over any other kind of an organization that has been suggested for young people. It brings young men and women together for common worship and work and pleasure at the time in life when young men and women want to be together. We have organizations such as Temple Auxiliaries, composed largely of the mothers in Israel,

and doing effective work. But only young ladies are eligible to these, if, indeed, they are wanted at all. We have young men's clubs, but these, too, are based on the segregation of sex. So I feel that if we can get our young people together along congregational lines, that we are doing a much better and, in reality, a much easier work.

The junior members, I take it, should be permitted to remain in the junior congregation, regardless of age, until the time when they can afford to join the senior congregation, the dues being subject to raise by the junior trustees with the consent of the individual. Thus the time will come when transfer of membership to the senior congregation will suggest itself.

One thought more. Just as we have a Union of American Hebrew Congregations, so a union of Junior American Hebrew congregations, whose meetings should coincide with the biennial meetings of the former, seems feasible: with the result that at the place where the men in Israel are gathered for council, and the women, too, through the Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the young people who are soon to shoulder the responsibilities of the senior members would be present to catch the glow of their enthusiasm.

This discussion of the feasibility and advisability of a junior congregation makes pertinent one or two other considerations. We are endeavoring to get these young people interested in congregational life. They are going to get interested in it, not by being absent from the communal service, but by attendance at the service. When shall they attend? They cannot do it very well on Saturday morning. A supplementary Sunday service is not strengthening our Judaism. The only logical as the most convenient time is the Friday evening service at about eight o'clock. Further stress should be laid on the Sabbath evening service because it is more Jewish. Could this service be made the principal one in the large cities as it has ever been in the towns—and these constitute the majority of settlements—the practice could not but affect Jewish life favorably in many ways.

Furthermore, we are not going to get our young people interested in Temple services by beginning when they are beyond the post-confirmation period. Plato urged that the education of

a child should begin with its grandmother. The things that we want to accomplish after the post-confirmation time, we ought to begin to do at least in the confirmation year. That is the crucial time for laying the groundwork for the interest of juniors in congregational life.

But what happens? We are much exercised over the Christmas exercises and the Easter celebrations in our public schools. These undoubtedly go down hard in Jewish throats, but I have a feeling that the most disintegrating effect of the public school is wrought not at these isolated periods of the year, but at those regular periods from week to week, on the Friday evening when the school plays are given; when the young men and women who wish to debate must go to the high school to debate, and when those who wish to participate in the musical organizations must hold up their end in the concerts that are given. Our young men and women, interested in these things as they ought to be are compelled to choose between attendance at their shrine on the one possible night or attendance at these other affairs, which could be given on some other night; and the seniors in Israel sit silently by. Yet we could easily by concerted action get the transfer of these Friday night celebations to Saturday night, and thereby do more good to our cause than the harm that can come from the inevitable Christmas and Easter times.

Now, if we will get into the minds of our boys and girls during the high school years an appreciation of the self-respect inherent in loyalty to faith as frankly manifested in worship; if we will get our schools to concede this harmless recognition of our Sabbath—and I think they would not wish to put themselves in the position of encouraging children to disrespect their Sabbath—if we will get them to do that, I think we will be doing a great deal for the cause of Judaism and for the strengthening of the junior congregation idea.

II. By what means can men be made to feel their responsibilities in the pursuit of Jewish endeavor?

The question, we should remember, represents a problem of the ministry. The intent, therefore, is to find some way of

getting Jewish men to appreciate the part the synagog plays in Jewish affairs and to realize their obligations to this synagog. As a matter of fact, men of the synagog are interested in many manifestations of Jewish life, but the synagog is not credited with the work. In any city, eliminate from Jewish lodges, clubs, societies, etc., the members belonging to the synagog—and many of them are active in it and furnish, too, the leadership in these related activities—and these could not exist. There is ground for suspecting, too, that men do not wish to recognize explicitly the contribution of the synagog lest the institution seem too positively Jewish. The situation is peculiar. Jews have a frantic fear of sectarianism; yet their existence—as that of every religious group—is conditioned on the perpetuation of sectarianism. Now the synagog incarnates the uniqueness of the Jew. Thus the Jew fears the very thing he is trying to save; and through his fear he circumvents and restrains the institution to whose development he is committed. He would grow by checking growth. "How to preserve a Jewish consciousness in a preponderantly non-Jewish environment"—this, at bottom, is the question confronting the Jew at every angle. The synagog, foremost in creating the problem, should lead in its solution.

As aids to the creation of a Jewish consciousness manifesting itself in a frank recognition of synagogal importance and of enthusiastic loyalty in forwarding its ideals, I would suggest:

That congregations engage in more publicity, intensive publicity, I mean, not the hit or miss and confusing kind due to the exigencies of the local Jewish weekly. The only reminder of the synagog most members get during the month is the bill for dues. But if cards of various kinds, notices, letters, etc., were sent to the homes at frequent intervals, explaining briefly some local situation, calling attention to some recent significant event in Jewry—in addition to the congregational announcements—some headway might be made in enlisting men in synagogal activity. The synagog is not constantly enough in touch with its members, nor is it sufficiently alert in bringing to their attention its effort from week to week.

Nor should the value of the weekly or monthly bulletin be overlooked. Of course this should do more than exploit the rabbi

and his wonderful achievements. It should manifest an interest in Jews and Judaism. The average Jew does too little Jewish reading, and, mayhap, the statement is true in even more general terms. It seems possible through the bulletin to get a minimum of Jewish reading done and this homogeneous in nature. Could the Bulletin of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, expanded into a weekly and chronicling all Jewish events and not merely the doings of the Union, be sent gratis into the homes of its various constituencies over the land, —as the monthly is now—it would be a tremendous factor in creating a Jewish consciousness appreciative of reform, and thereby of bringing men under the *aegis* of the synagog in their activities. Reform congregations need a medium of expression dedicated to their needs completely. The *pot pourri* of Jewish events, recorded in the Jewish weeklies we know, is contradictory and confusing to the average layman.

II As a second step toward tying up our men to synagogal interests, I would suggest a decentralization of congregational organization. We may be sure that our congregations are safe for democracy and that democracy is safe for the synagog, but at that a group of men-trustees—specially delegated to take care of the congregation's entire business is not calculated to evoke a general interest. Our boards as at present constituted are too exclusive in their action. But before the cooperation of our men generally can be secured, they must be given something to do. If our committees, instead of being made up of trustees entirely, were composed of non-board members, a trustee acting as chairman of the committee,—and many modifications of the idea are conceivable—participation in congregational matters on the part of the men would be extended.

III Further, our congregational life is too frigid. We seem not to have passed beyond the tribal stage in our conception of friend and neighbor. The men of our clan are our kinsmen; those outside our "set" are under suspicion. And so though the stranger come into our synagog, we do not take him in. How get enthusiasm in an organization whose members do not know each other and many of whom the trustees do not know? If our membership were brought together

three or four times a year instead of annually only, and not for business alone, some progress in fellowship could not but take place. Our men enter into the spirit of this in other organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, why not be equally democratic in the synagog. Acquaintanceship begets the desire to be of service; to prove oneself a peer. As it is now, for three hundred and sixty-four days members are in ignorance of the congregation's plans and problems, and are deprived of the chance to get acquainted; and yet we wonder why on the one remaining day the annual meeting is poorly attended.

We should set about to re-create the synagog. The prototype was not only the place of worship, but also the school and club.

IV Today the synagog is preponderantly a place for prayer. But if religion be still commensurate with life, then the whole of life should be reflected in the place of worship. Theory must be reenforced with practice; religion must be applied to the facts of life to prove its validity. As in nature the flower is attached to the stalk on which it grew, so should the glow of consummation from the preachments of religion be experienced in the temple precincts and not in distant spheres. All activities, not merely all theology, should radiate from the synagog. As charity is inspired there so should charities be fulfilled there. The synagog should no longer be inveigled into thinking, if ever it did, that its sole function is inspiritional, as if, indeed, in the realms of religion alone abstractions can acquire efficiency without embodiment in experience. No longer should the statement be allowed to go unchallenged—shallow and biased on the face of it—that under the complex development of modern life, charity, in its practical working, has outgrown the reach of religion everywhere. As of yore so now, the synagog must be made the hub of our philanthropic enterprise, Jewish social workers must be made to know that they must have something more Jewish about them than mere accident of birth. The men who represent our charities officially must have a definite religious loyalty to be eligible for the distinction. The insight of the ancient synagog whereby the whole of life and not merely a devotional segment of it was regarded as its province, is valid still.

The practical effect of the synagogal renascence will be that many members of the temple, now active along philanthropic lines will continue to be so, but will realize religious connections in the doing of the work. The boards of charities will be virtually committees of the congregation, or at least elected or appointed by it, and so will be engaged in executing a part of the congregation's business. An increased interest in all phases of the congregational life on the part of the men—and of the women, too, for that matter—seems a natural sequel. In some places, to be sure, this program can no longer be realized. But, at least, in such places, congregational representatives on the various boards could be insisted on, and if the congregational policy be wise, these will not invariably be trustees of the temple.

V Several other devices for enlisting men in congregational work occur to one. Many of our men eat their noonday meal down town. Why not congregate once a week in a private dining room in one of the many cafes to discuss the Jewish events of the week as well as congregational matters? A spirit of fellowship is an excellent incentive to a more serious interest. The right committees—of the congregation though not confined to the Board—might make this an entertaining hour as well. We go with reasonable regularity to the weekly luncheons of Rotary Clubs, Municipal Leagues, etc. The same plan is workable in the congregational life. To be sure, the luncheon need not be given publicity in the daily papers, but this is urged more as a matter of judgment than of moral cowardice masked under the plea of too much sectarianism. The club for men in temple precincts is a variant of the above suggestion and may prove more feasible in certain places.

VI The discussion of the problem reveals the necessity of the Temple Center. The institution which professes to be concerned with life in all its phases must be equipped to deal with the whole of life. The social, recreational and educational needs cannot be met by a place for worship only. Is there really any reason to believe that boys and girls, for example, endanger their Jewishness more by engaging in activities in the Temple Center than by indulging in the same activities beyond

the Temple Courts? The Center-synagog, we should remind ourselves, is only the ancient synagog come to life again.

The final word seems the most pertinent. Men cannot be interested Jewishly to any marked extent unless the rabbi has the social spirit. It is not to be expected that the rabbi who conducts himself with the frigidity and aloofness and pomp of a corporation lawyer will succeed in winning the love of the children, let alone the support of the men. A spiritually-minded rabbi, earnest, human and accessible, is the necessary assumption in all work making for a greater Judaism.

K

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO SERVICES ON MEXICAN BORDER, 1916, WITH LIST OF SERVICES HELD

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, August 28, 1916.

My Dear General Funston:

This letter will introduce to you Rabbi Isaac Landman, who has been designated by the Central Conference of American Rabbis to go to the border and minister spiritually to Jewish members of the militia and regular organizations under your command during the holiday periods of the Jewish New Year, Day of Atonement, the Feast of Tabernacles, and Feast of Conclusion. These dates Rabbi Landman will give you, and I am writing this note merely to commend his mission and him to your personal interest and to ask you to cause all convenient arrangements to be made which will facilitate his work.

I do not know how far it will be possible on these festival days to excuse Jewish soldiers for religious observance in accordance with the rites of their faith, but unless inconsistent with military discipline, I should be very happy to have the requirements of their creed fully respected and every opportunity given them to participate in these festival celebrations.

Cordially yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War.

Major General Frederick Funston, U. S. A.,
Ft. Sam Houston, Texas.

HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT

Fort Sam Houston, Texas, Sept. 10, 1916.

From: Department Adjutant
To: Commanding General, Brownsville District, Brownsville, Texas.
Subject: Jewish religious services.

1. In accordance with instructions received from the Secretary of War, the Department Commander desires to call your attention to the fact that Rabbi Isaac Landman will visit your station in the near future, and desires to organize services for those members of your command who belong to the Jewish faith.

2. It is his wish to hold special services on the evening of September 27 and the morning of September 28, and again on the evening of October 6 and morning of October 7.

3. The Department Commander directs that you permit those members of your command, who belong to the Jewish faith, to attend these services as far as possible, consistent with such urgent military duties as may be required.

4. At stations in your district other than those where services will be held, commanding officers will be instructed to permit men to go to those points where services are to be held, as far as is consistent with urgent military duties.

5. Rabbi Landman will present a letter of introduction from these headquarters.

By command of Major General Funston.

OMAR BUNDY, Colonel, Adjutant General.

(Also sent to C. G., New York Division; C. G., Laredo District; C. G., Del Rio District; C. G., Eagle Pass District; C. G., El Paso District; C. G., Pennsylvania Division; C. G., 1st Texas Brigade, Corpus Christi.)

NEW YORK DIVISION

McAllen, Texas, September 20, 1916.

General Orders No. 26

(Extract)

* * *

1. Officers and enlisted men of the Jewish faith in this Division will be excused from all duties on September 27 and 28, and on October 6 and 7, to enable them to attend the ceremonies of their religion to be held at McAllen on those days.

* * *

By command of Major General O'Ryan:

H. H. BANDHOLTZ,
Colonel, Chief of Staff.

Official: Allan L. Reagan, Major, Adjutant.

HEADQUARTERS LAREDO DISTRICT

Laredo, Texas, September 12, 1916.

Memorandum:

Pursuant to instructions from the Department Commander, dated September 10, 1916, members of this command who belong to the Jewish faith will be permitted to attend the special services to be held in the evenings of September 27 and October 6, 1916, and in the mornings of September 28 and of October 7, 1916, by Rabbi Isaac Landman, provided that no urgent military duty is thereby omitted. Men on duty at stations where above meetings are not held will be permitted to attend these meetings subject to the above proviso.

By command of Brigadier General Mann:
J. S. SWITZER, Adjutant General, Adjutant.

HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT

Fort Sam Houston, Texas, September 10, 1916.

From: Department Adjutant.
To: Commanding General, Eagle Pass District, Eagle Pass, Texas.
Subject: Jewish religious services.

1. In accordance with instructions received from the Secretary of War, the Department Commander desires to call your attention to the fact that Rabbi Isaac Landman will visit your station in the near future and desires to organize services for those members of your command who belong to the Jewish faith.

2. It is his wish to hold special services on the evening of September 27 and the morning of September of 28, and again on the evening of October 6 and morning of October 7.

3. The Department Commander directs that you permit those members of your command who belong to the Jewish faith to attend these services as far as possible, consistent with such urgent military duties as may be required.

4. At stations in your district other than those where services will be held, commanding officers will be instructed to permit men to go to those points where services are to be held, as far as is consistent with urgent military duties.

5. Rabbi Landman will present a letter of introduction from these headquarters.

By command of Major General Funston:
OMAR BUNDY, Colonel, Adjutant General.

Hq. Eagle Pass District, Eagle Pass, Texas, September 12, 1916. Official copy furnished to all Camp Commanders for compliance.

By command of Brigadier General Sibley:
EDGAR T. CONLEY, Major, 37th Infantry, Adjutant.

HEADQUARTERS DEL RIO DISTRICT

Del Rio, Texas, September 27, 1916.

Memorandum:

1. The Command is informed that Jewish religious services will be held in the Baptist Church in Del Rio, at 6:30 p m. this date and at 10:30 a. m. tomorrow, the 28th inst.

Organization Commanders will so arrange, if practicable, duties of men of their respective commands who desire to attend these services so that they may be present.

By command of Brigadier General Ruckman:
KYLE RUCKER,
Captain and Adjutant, 14th Cavalry, Adjutant.

HEADQUARTERS 12th PROVISIONAL DIVISION

Camp at Saint Elmo, Texas, September 27, 1916.

Memorandum:

1. Rabbi Landman, of Philadelphia, will hold services in honor of the New Year for all those in this Command of the Jewish faith. This service will be held at 5:30 p. m. this date, and at 5:30 a. m. tomorrow, in the field just south of the Camp of the Sanitary Units (marked Camp Site B on Camp Site Map 8—general).

2. Commanders of brigades and separate units will publish this notice to the men of their commands, and will excuse from all duty men of the Jewish faith who desire to attend the above mentioned services.

By command of Brigadier General Greene:
T. Ross, Chief of Staff.

HEADQUARTERS 12TH PROVISIONAL DIVISION

Camp at St. Elmo, September 27, 1916.

TO THE MILITARY POLICE:

The driver of this motorcycle side car has permission to go to Austin and return this date with one civilian passenger.

By command of Brig. General Greene,
(Sgd.) T. Ross, Chief of Staff.

HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT

Fort Sam Houston, Texas, September 16, 1916.

From: Department Adjutant.
To: Commanding Officer, Big Bend District, Marfa, Texas.
Subject: Enlisted men of the Jewish faith.

Under instructions from the Secretary of War, Rabbi Landman is visiting military camps in the Southern Department for the purpose of holding services among those men of the Regular Army and National Guard who belong to the Jewish faith. Owing to the fact that the stations in your Districts are so widely separated he concluded not to stop there. He requests, however, that the number of men of Jewish faith at the different stations in your District be furnished him. The Department Commander directs that you ascertain the number of men of Jewish faith at the different stations in your District where there is a company or more. Direct your reply to Rabbi Landman, Gunter Hotel, San Antonio, Texas.

(Sgd.) OMAR BUNDY, Colonel, Adjutant General.

Hq. Big Bend District, Marfa, Texas, September 20, 1916.
Copy to C. O. Terlingua.
I. For a list of the Jews.

By order of Colonel Gaston:
(Sgd.) GEORGE DILLMAN,
Captain 6th Cavalry, Adjutant.

HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT

Fort Sam Houston, Texas, September 25, 1916.

From: Department Adjutant.
To: Commanding Officer, Base, Columbus, N. M.
Subject: Jewish services.

1. The Department Commander directs that you furnish Rabbi Isaac Landman and Mr. Lewis Landes facilities for going down line of communications to Dublan and possibly to El Valle. They desire to hold religious services among the Jewish soldiers, and facilities to enable them to carry out this purpose will be extended to them as far as practicable, without interfering with necessary military duties.

2. Similar instructions are being sent to General Pershing.

OMAR BUNDY, Colonel, Adjutant General.

Copies furnished General Pershing and Rabbi Landman and Colonel Farnsworth, Columbus, N. M.

BASE OF COMMUNICATIONS

Columbus, N. M., October 2, 1916.

Commanding General Punitive Expedition,
Dublan, Mexico.

Number three twenty six. Rabbi Landman and executive secretary Landes about whom department commander telegraphed leave tomorrow morning by truck train for Dublan desiring to hold services Friday evening and Saturday of this week. Latter desires to go on to El Valle to conduct services there while the Rabbi conducts those at Dublan. Will you please cause arrangements to be made for transportation for Mr. Landes from Dublan to El Valle by first train leaving after their arrival at Dublan. They request that announcement be made at both places that the services will be at retreat Friday evening and reveille Saturday morning.

FARNSWORTH

A True Copy:
(Signed) F. Gaecleck,
Capt., 17th Infantry.
Act. Adjutant.

BASE, October 2, 1916.

A. M.
C. O. directs that transportation be furnished Rabbi Isaac Landman and Mr. Lewis Landes to El Valle and return on first available transportation.

GOEDICKE, Adjutant.

O. K. W. G. H.

HEADQUARTERS CAMP DUBLAN, MEXICO

October 4, 1916.

Memorandum:

Rabbi Landman and Executive Secretary Landes of the Jewish Church will hold church services at the Moving Picture Ground, Friday evening at 5:45 p. m. and again at 6:30 a. m. Saturday morning. Organization Commanders will excuse men of the Jewish faith who desire to attend the services Saturday from military duties that morning.

Rabbi Landman desires to have it announced that Saturday is the Day of Atonement in the Jewish Church.

By order of Colonel Nicholson:
C. A. FRATT, Captain 24th Infantry, Adjutant.

ORGANIZATIONS EFFECTED WHERE SERVICES WERE HELD

CIVILIAN AND MILITARY COMMITTEES

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS—

Services held on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in Hinckley's Hall in Brownsville. Leopold Meyer, of Galveston, Texas, supplied by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, officiated.

MILITARY COMMITTEE, P. W. Wiseman, Regimental Supply Co., 4th Infantry, Chairman; Col. Milton Foreman, 1st Illinois Cavalry; Private Jacob L. Fox, 1st Illinois Cavalry.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, D. L. Spero, Chairman; A. Asheim, Treasurer; Joseph Braunstein, Financial Secretary; J. M. Stern, Executive Secretary.

HARLINGEN AND SAN BENITO, TEXAS—

MILITARY COMMITTEE, Corporal Louis Schoenberg, Headquarters Troop 26th Infantry, Chairman; Private David Schwarz, Co. B, 26th Infantry; Private Max Solomon, Co. D, 26th Infantry.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, (No Jews reside in these towns.) Men worshipped in Brownsville.

MERCEDES, TEXAS—

MILITARY COMMITTEE, Corporal Max Rosen, Headquarters Troop, 3d Cavalry, Chairman; and Private Nathan Samuel, Troop C, 3d Cavalry.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, (No Jews reside in this town.) Men worshipped in Brownsville.

LLANO GRANDE, TEXAS—

MILITARY COMMITTEE, 1st Lieut. C. Arthur Tuteur, 3d Indiana Infantry, Chairman; 1st Lieut. Simon Reisler, 1st Indiana Field Hospital; Sergeant Joseph Freeman, Co. K, 1st Minnesota Infantry; Private Barney Rosenberg, Co. M, 3d Minnesota Infantry; Private Daniel Wulfson, Battery A, 1st Indiana Field Artillery; Private Harry Kollus, Co. F, 1st Indiana Infantry

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, (No Jews reside in this town.) Men worshipped in Brownsville.

DONNA, TEXAS—

MILITARY COMMITTEE, Corporal Otto Schwarz, Battery C, 1st Battalion, Louisiana Field Artillery.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, (No Jews reside in this town.) Men worshipped in Brownsville.

McALLEN, TEXAS—

Services held on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in the Y. M. C. A. shack in the camp at McAllen. Moses Wilchins, student at the Hebrew Union College, supplied by the Army and Navy Branch of the Y. M. H. A., officiated.

MILITARY COMMITTEE, Private Abraham Wicher, Battery F, 1st New York Field Artillery, Chairman; Sergeant Jacob Ledner, Co. H, 12th New York Infantry, Secretary; Col. Henry S. Sternberger, Chief Quartermaster; and Captain Sylvester Simpson, Battery D, 1st New York Field Artillery, Advisors.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, Messrs. Moritz and Hermann (the only two Jews residing in McAllen).

PHAAR, MISSION AND SAM-FORDYCE, TEXAS—

McAllen Committee looked after these encampments. Men transported in army trucks to McAllen for the services.

LAREDO, TEXAS—

Services held on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in Red Men's Hall in Laredo. B. H. Birnbaum, student in the Jewish Theological Seminary, supplied by the Army and Navy Branch of the Y. M. H. A., officiated.

MILITARY COMMITTEE, Capt. A. U. Loeb, 9th Infantry, U. S. A., and Headquartermaster Sgt. Harry Blum, 9th Infantry, U. S. A.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, Ferdinand Wurmser, Chairman; Sol. C. Freed, Secretary, and Isaac Alexander.

DOLORES, TEXAS (30 miles east of Laredo) to PERRON'S RANCH (50 miles west of Laredo)—

By order of Brigadier General Mann, men of the Jewish faith at 31 outpost stations, lying between these two stations, were transported in army trucks to Laredo for the services.

EAGLE PASS, TEXAS—

Services held on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in a hall in the city. M. P. Ostrow, of Houston, Texas, supplied by the Jewish community of Houston, officiated.

MILITARY COMMITTEE, Corp. Hyman Einstein, Co. M, 3d Infantry, U. S. A.; Private George Sokoloff, 3d Infantry Band; Private Wm. Levinson, Co. E, Signal Corps; 1st Sergeant Oscar Rosendorf, 30th Infantry, U. S. A.

CIVILIAN COMMITTEE, J. Kransthorn, President; S. Grossman, Vice-President; M. B. Feiner, Secretary; F. Kransthorn, Treasurer.

THE BIG BEND DISTRICT—

This District comprises a line of detached organizations of the Cavalry and Infantry, running from Del Rio to El Paso. Some of these districts are many miles from a railroad. Through the offices of Col. Omar Bundy, the Adj. General of the Southern Department, the commanding officer of the Big Bend District, at Marfa, Texas, collected a list of the Jewish men for your representative. An effort was made to organize a service at Presidio, where 28 Jews were stationed. Active urgent duty of guarding the border, however, prevented the gathering of enough men to hold a regular service, even there. One hundred Prayer Books were distributed to the Jewish men along the Bend through the courtesy and cooperation of the Y. M. C. A. Traveling Secretaries, Messrs. Edward G. Simons and Harold E. Steer. Sixty-seven men, who later applied for these rituals, were supplied by mail from the office of your corresponding secretary.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS—

Services held on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in Corpus Christi. Jacob L. Fox, of Chicago, a Private in the 1st Illinois Cavalry, supplied by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, officiated.

ST. ELMO, TEXAS—

Services held on Rosh Hashanah eve and morning. Rabbi Isaac Landman, supplied by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, officiated. St. Elmo was not a regular army camp. Here the 1st Division encamped on Rosh Hashanah eve while on the march back to its permanent quarters in San Antonio. It was through the generous cooperation of General Funston and Colonel Barnum, Chief of Staff, in San Antonio, and General Greene and Captain Ross, his Chief of Staff, in the camp at St. Elmo, that these services, while the division was on actual military maneuvers, were made possible.

Isaac Mayer Wise

Founder
of the

Central Conference of American Rabbis

and

First President

1889-1900

Deceased Members

Aaron, Israel, Buffalo, N. Y.....1912
Adler, Samuel, New York City.....1891
Adler, Liebman, Chicago, Ill.....1892
Bauer, Solomon H., Chicago, Ill.....1913
Benjamin, Raphael, Brooklyn, N. Y.....1907
Bien, Henry M., Vicksburg, Miss.....1895
Birkenthal, Herman, Hamilton, Ont.....1893
Blaustein, David, New York City.....1912
Bloch, Jacob, Portland, Ore.....1916
Bonnheim, Benjamin A., Cincinnati, O.....1909
Caro, Victor, Milwaukee, Wis.....1912
Chumaceiro, H. J. M., Curacao, D. W. I.....1905
Cohen, Oscar J., Mobile, Ala.....1901
Elkin, Meyer, Hartford, Conn.....1915
Feldman, Ephraim, Cincinnati, O.....1910
Felsenthal, Bernard, Chicago, Ill.....1908
Feuerlicht, David, Owensboro, Ky.....1897
Fischer, E. K., Chattanooga, Tenn.....1903
Friedlander, Joseph, Plainfield, N. J.....1917
Gottheil, Gustav, New York City.....1903
Grossman, Ignatz, Chicago, Ill.....1897
Guttmacher, Adolf, Baltimore, Md.....1915
Herz, Joseph, Columbus, Miss.....1909
Hess, Emanuel L., St. Paul, Minn.....1907
Jacobson, Jacob S., Chicago, Ill.....1911
Joseph, Israel, Montgomery, Ala.....1897
Kaiser, Alois, Baltimore, Md.....1908
Lazarus, Abraham, Houston, Tex.....1900
Leucht, Isaac L., New Orleans, La.....1914

LEVY, ABRAHAM R., Chicago, Ill.....1915
LEVY, JOSEPH LEONARD, Pittsburgh, Pa.....1917
LEVY, M. S., San Francisco, Cal.....1916
LOEWENSTEIN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....1901
MACHOL, MICHAEL, Cleveland, Ohio.....1912
MANNHEIMER, SIGMUND, Cincinnati, O.....1909
MAYER, LIPPMAN, Pittsburgh, Pa.....1904
MESSING, AARON J., Chicago, Ill.....1916
MESSING, HENRY J., St. Louis, Mo.....1913
MIELZINER, MOSES, Cincinnati, O.....1903
MOSES, ADOLPH, Louisville, Ky.....1902
NOOT, MEYER, Williamsport, Pa.....1916
NORDEN, AARON, Chicago, Ill.....1905
RADIN, ADOLPH M., New York City.....1909
SADLER, BERNARD, Easton, Pa.....1917
SAMFIELD, MAX, Memphis, Tenn.....1915
SCHWAB, ISAAC, St. Joseph, Mo.....1907
SOLOMON, M., Appleton, Wis.....1892
SONNENSCHEIN, SOLOMON, St. Louis, Mo.....1908
STEMPLE, I., Yonkers, N. Y.....1900
STRAUSS, LEON, Belleville, Ill.....1895
SZOLD, BENJAMIN, Baltimore, Md.....1902
VOORSANGER, JACOB, San Francisco, Cal.....1908
WECHSLER, JUDAH, Indianapolis, Ind.....1907
WEISS, L., Bradford, Pa.....1909
WISE, AARON, New York City.....1896
WISE, ISAAC M., Cincinnati, O.....1900
ZIRNDORF, HEINRICH, Cincinnati, O.....1893

PAST PRESIDENTS

Isaac M. Wise.....1889-1900
Joseph Silverman.....1900-1903
Joseph Krauskopf.....1903-1905
Joseph Stolz.....1905-1907
David Philipson.....1907-1909
Max Heller.....1909-1911
Samuel Schulman.....1911-1913
Moses J. Gries.....1913-1915
William Rosenau.....1915-1917

CONVENTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

1889.....Detroit, Mich.
1890.....Cleveland, O.
1891.....Baltimore, Md.
1892.....New York, N. Y.
1892.....Washington, D. C.
1893.....Chicago, Ill.
1894.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1895.....Rochester, N. Y.
1896.....Milwaukee, Wis.
1897.....Montreal, Canada
1898.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1899.....Cincinnati, O.
1900.....Buffalo, N. Y.
1901.....Philadelphia, Pa.
1902.....New Orleans, La.
1903.....Detroit, Mich.
1904.....Louisville, Ky.
1905.....Cleveland, O.
1906.....Indianapolis, Ind.
1907-1908.....Frankfort, Mich.
1909.....New York, N. Y.
1910.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1911...St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn.
1912.....Baltimore, Md.
1913.....Atlantic City, N. J.
1914.....Detroit, Mich.
1915.....Charlevoix, Mich.
1916.....Wildwood, N. J.
1917.....Buffalo, N. Y.

Atlantic City, N. J..1894, 1898, 1913
Baltimore, Md.....1891, 1912
Buffalo, N. Y.....1900, 1917
Charlevoix, Mich.....1910, 1915
Chicago, Ill.....1893
Cincinnati, O.....1899
Cleveland, O.....1890, 1905
Detroit, Mich.....1889, 1903, 1914
Frankfort, Mich.....1907, 1908
Indianapolis, Ind.....1906
Louisville, Ky.....1904
Milwaukee, Wis.....1896
Montreal, Canada.....1897
New Orleans, La.....1902
New York, N. Y.....1892, 1909
Philadelphia, Pa.....1901
Rochester, N. Y.....1895
St. Paul-Minneapolis, Minn...1911
Washington, D. C.....1892
Wildwood, N. J.....1916

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1917-1918

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Euclid Ave. Temple

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ENELOW, HYMAN G.....New York City
KOCH, SAMUEL.....Seattle, Wash.
LANDMAN, ISAAC.....Far Rockaway, N. Y.
MORGENSTERN, JULIAN.....Cincinnati, O.
ROSENAU, WILLIAM.....Baltimore, Md.
STOLZ, JOSEPH.....Chicago, Ill.
WOLF, HORACE J.....Rochester, N. Y.

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FEUERLICHT, MORRIS M.
HIRSHBERG, SAMUEL
ROSENAU, WILLIAM

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Arbitration

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Koch, Samuel
Levi, Harry
Mendes, F. De Sola
Silverman, Joseph
Wise, Jonah B.

Church and State

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Levi, Chas. S.
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New Jersey—Foster, Solomon
New Mexico—Bergman, Moise
New York—Wise, Stephen S.
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Oklahoma—Blatt, Joseph
Oregon—Wise, Jonah B.
Pennsylvania—Krauskopf, Joseph
Rhode Island—Tedesche, Sidney
South Carolina—Raisin, Jacob S.
Tennessee—Fineshriber, Wm. H.
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Virginia—Calisch, Edward N.
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Silver, Abba Hillel
Stolz, Joseph

Contemporaneous History

Deutsch, Gotthard, *Chairman*
Anspacher, Abraham
Blau, Joel
Elzas, Barnett A.
Freund, Charles J.
Goldenson, Samuel H.
Grossman, Rudolph
Heller, James G.
Levy, Clifton H.
Levy, Felix A.
Mattuck, Israel I.
Rubenstein, Charles A.
Wolfenstein, Samuel

Curators of Archives

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Morgenstern, Julian

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Kohler, Kaufman
Krauskopf, Joseph
Lefkowitz, David
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Rosenau, William
Schulman, Samuel
Silverman, Joseph
Stolz, Joseph

Descriptive Catalog

Leipziger, Emil W., *Chairman*
Editors—Heller, Max, Reference Literature
Simon, Abram, Educational Philosophy
Zepin, George, Text Books
Hirschberg, Abram, Juvenile Literature
Landman, Isaac, Jewish History
Levi, Gerson B., Jewish Religion
Mayer, Eli, Jewish Literature

Buttenwieser, Moses
Deutsch, Gotthard
Egelson, Louis I.
Englander, Henry
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Kohut, George A.
Lazaron, Morris S.
Levy, David
Levinger, Lee J.
Lovitch, Meyer
Mannheimer, Eugene
Mazure, Maurice M.
Mielziner, Jacob
Miller, Julian H.
Neumark, David
Ranson, Marius
Rauch, Joseph
Reichler, Max
Rhine, A. B.
Rosenbaum, David
Solomon, George
Tedesche, Sidney S.

Finance

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Investments

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Franklin, Leo M.
Rosenau, William
Wolsey, Louis

Publications

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Frisch, Ephraim
Hirshberg, Samuel
Landman, Isaac
Marcuson, Isaac E.
Rubenstein, Charles A.
Salzman, Marcus
Wolsey, Louis

Relief Fund

Stolz, Joseph, *Chairman*
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Schanfarber, Tobias

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Enelow, Hyman G.
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Grossman, Rudolph
Harris, Maurice H.
Hirschberg, Abram
Isaacs, Abram S.
Jasin, Joseph
Krass, Nathan
Levi, Gerson B.
Magnes, Judah L.
Merritt, Max J.
Meyer, Martin A.
Rosenbaum, David
Schwarz, Jacob D.
Wolsey, Louis
Zepin, George

Religious Work in Universities

Franklin, Leo M., *Chairman*
Berkowitz, Henry
Calisch, Edward N.
Cronbach, Abraham
Enelow, Hyman G.
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Isaacs, Abram S.
Kohler, Kaufman
Kornfeld, Joseph S.
Levi, Charles S.
Levi, Harry
Lewinthal, Isidore
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Rosenau, William
Rosenbaum, David
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Wolsey, Louis
Zielonka, Martin

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Raisin, Max
Rauch, Joseph
Rappaport, Julius
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Revision of Union Prayer Book

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Bettan, Israel
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Levi, Charles S.
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Tarshish, Jacob
Wise, Stephen S.
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Survey of Jewish Religious Conditions

Lefkovits, Maurice, *Chairman*
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Baron, Morris
Currick, Max C.
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Friedlander, M.
Hevesh, Joseph
Mayer, Harry H.
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Rothstein, Leonard J.
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Sale, Samuel
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Zepin, George

Synagog and Industrial Relations

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Coffee, Rudolph I.
Cohen, Henry
Cronbach, Abraham
Currick, Max C.
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Frank, Julius
Franklin, Harvey B.
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Goldstein, Sidney E.
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Messing, Mayer
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Raisin, Max
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Volmer, Leon
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Yudelson, Albert B.

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Cohen, Simon
Cohn, Frederick
Ettelson, Harry W.
Heller, James G.
Holtzberg, Abraham
Lazaron, Morris S.
Loewenberg, William
Marx, David
Mattuck, Israel I.
Mayer, Eli
Nieto, Jacob
Rothstein, Leonard J.
Silberfeld, Julius
Stern, Nathan
Wolsey, Louis

Systematic Jewish Theology

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Philipson, David

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